

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

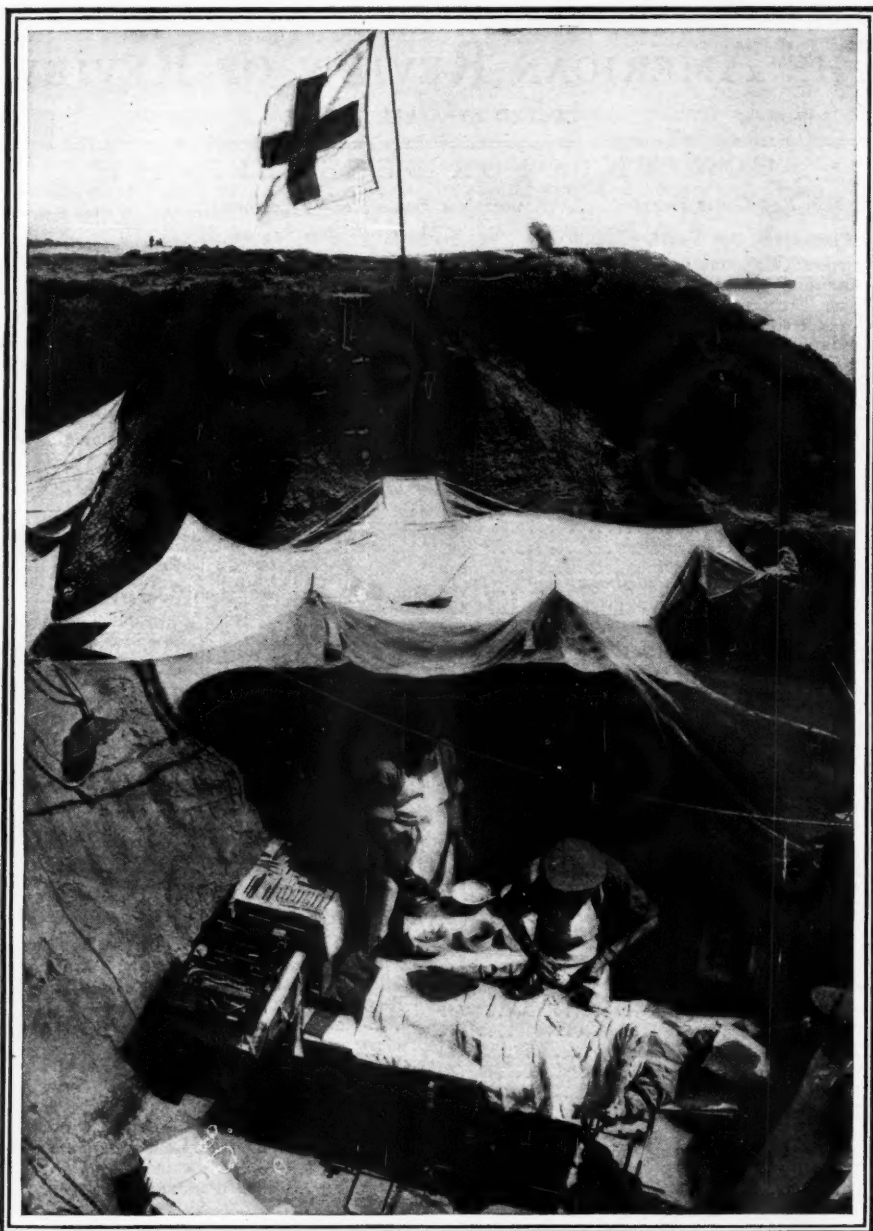
CONTENTS FOR DECEMBER, 1915

A British Red Cross Hospital <i>Frontispiece</i>	Some Recent Cartoons 673
The Progress of the World—	Britain's War Posters 675
Another Christmas in Trench and Afield..... 643	What Sea Power Means to England 681
"Attrition" a Slow Process..... 643	BY A. C. LAUT
Peace Prospects Gloomy..... 643	<i>With portraits and other illustrations</i>
Governments Have Failed..... 644	Diplomacy and Battle in the Balkans 692
England's Navy as a World System..... 644	BY FRANK H. SIMONDS
Temporary Need of Self-Defense..... 644	<i>With maps and other illustrations</i>
Militarism Not the Root Evil..... 645	Our Minister to Belgium 703
Uses for Our Navy..... 645	<i>With portrait of Brand Whitlock</i>
Congress and the Defense Bills..... 646	A Red Cross Leader 704
Bryan Assails the President..... 646	<i>With portrait of Ernest P. Bicknell</i>
How Will Congress Act?..... 647	Helping the Belgians 705
America Has Been Drifting..... 648	BY ERNEST P. BICKNELL
Challenging England—A Year Too Late..... 648	<i>With portrait and other illustrations</i>
Open Discussion Needed..... 649	The Bulgarians and Their Country 716
Evils of Party Government..... 649	BY OLIVER BAINBRIDGE
How Politics Taints Diplomacy..... 649	<i>With portraits and other illustrations</i>
The Shocking Colombian Treaty..... 649	"Speeding the Silver Bullets" 720
New York's Embattled Politicians..... 650	BY LEWIS R. FREEMAN
How the New Constitution Was Beaten..... 650	<i>With portraits of Reginald McKenna and cartoons</i>
Milestones in the Fight for Freedom..... 650	How Britain Pays Her War Bills 727
Tammany's Victory..... 651	A Parcel-Post Library System 729
Like Results in Philadelphia..... 651	BY FRED L. HOLMES
A Few State Elections..... 652	<i>With portrait and another illustration</i>
Ohio—Improving City Government..... 652	Buffalo's New Experiment in Government .. 731
Ashtabula Tries a Scientific Scheme..... 653	BY M. M. WILNER
The Woman Suffrage Question..... 653	Leading Articles of the Month—
President Wilson's Program..... 654	War's Reflections in the World's Reviews..... 733
Shall the Senate Limit Debate?..... 654	Europe's Stupendous War Bills..... 734
Who Will Run Against Wilson?..... 655	Should War Profits Be Taxed?..... 735
Hughes in the Nebraska Primary..... 655	Revival of Plans for a Channel Tunnel.. 736
Congress and America's Policies..... 656	Mr. Root, Characterized by a Progressive..... 737
Mexico's Rehabilitation..... 657	Germany's Hope in the East..... 739
The Balkan Situation..... 657	What the Allies Can Do in the Balkans.. 741
Why and How Germany Proceeds..... 657	The Man Who Raised Canada's Army... 742
The New French Cabinet..... 658	England's Citizen Army..... 745
England Aroused..... 658	A Great Seaport Near the Arctic Circle.. 746
English Recruiting..... 659	The World-War Against Alcohol..... 748
Miss Cavell's Execution..... 659	Armenia and the Armenians..... 750
China's Government..... 661	Treating Infected Wounds with Colloidal Gold..... 751
Our New Industrial Activity..... 661	Juvenile Book Week..... 752
An Unheard-of Export Balance..... 661	<i>With portraits, map, and other illustrations</i>
Dangers of the Situation..... 662	The New Books 753
How Europe Is Paying Us..... 662	<i>With portraits and other illustrations</i>
Better Times for the Railroads..... 662	Financial News 766
San Francisco's Notable Triumph..... 663	
Humane Effort, by System..... 663	
Booker Washington..... 664	
<i>With portraits, cartoons, and other illustrations</i>	
Record of Current Events 665	
<i>With portraits and other illustrations</i>	
Caring for War's Wounded and Disabled (Illustrations) 670	

TERMS:—Issued monthly, 25 cents a number, \$3.00 a year in advance in the United States, Porto Rico, Hawaii, Cuba, Canada, Mexico, and the Philippines. Elsewhere, \$4.00. Entered at New York Post Office as second class matter under Act of Congress, March 3, 1879. Entered as Second Class matter at the Post Office Department, Ottawa, Canada. Subscribers may remit to us by post-office or express money orders, or by bank checks, drafts, or registered letters. Money in letters is sent at sender's risk. Renew as early as possible in order to avoid a break in the receipt of the numbers. Bookdealers, Postmasters and Newsdealers receive subscriptions. (Subscriptions to the English Review of Reviews, which is edited and published in London, may be sent to this office, and orders for single copies can also be filled, at the price of \$2.50 for the yearly subscription, including postage, or 25 cents for single copies.)

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CO., 30 Irving Place, New York

ALBERT SHAW, Pres. CHAS. D. LANIER, Sec. and Treas.



Photograph by International News Service, New York

A BRITISH RED CROSS FIRST-AID HOSPITAL ON THE GALLIPOLI PENINSULA

THE red of the Geneva Cross on a white field, flying over a multitude of medical stations along the vast battle lines of Europe, will this year, as last, be more truly emblematic of the Christmas season and the succoring spirit of Christianity than the red of the customary holly berries. The Red Cross will remind us not only of the blood sacrifice of millions of soldiers, but of the patient fortitude and generous service of the host of brave men and women who are working heroically to relieve the suffering of the wounded.

In these first-aid stations, situated nearest the battle lines, the wounded soldier receives the first medical attention that can be given him out of reach of the enemy's fire. After treatment here, he is hurried further back to a base hospital for more thorough and careful attention.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LII

NEW YORK, DECEMBER, 1915

No. 6

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Another Christmas in Trench and Afield

When the war began it was declared throughout Germany that peace would be restored and the soldiers would be at home again in time to celebrate Christmas. Germany's three or four preceding wars had been very short. Several other modern wars on a large scale had also been decided in brief campaigns. But all of Germany's diplomatic and strategic program of the autumn of 1914 was frustrated. Christmas found the German army beaten back from the vicinity of Paris and intrenched for the winter on a defensive line that has, with some variation, been held ever since. A second Christmas now approaches, and it finds more men fighting than a year ago and no signs of an early conclusion of the war.

"Attrition" a Slow Process

The Allies now say frankly that they rely upon a great superiority of men and of resources to wear out and crush Germany, through a patient policy of attrition. Thus in our Civil War the North, using its sea power to blockade the South, and its vastly superior resources of men and supplies of every kind, wore out the Confederate armies and won complete victory only after a struggle of four years. It took the British Empire, with its almost incalculable resources, two and a half years to conquer by this same policy of attrition the two little Boer republics in South Africa, whose aggregate population was not as great as that of one of the larger manufacturing towns of England. Spain, in 1895, undertook to wear down the Cuban insurrection, and after three years, with 200,000 European soldiers on the island, the situation remained deadlocked, with the advantage rather on the side of the ragged guerrilla fighters of General Gomez. It looks, indeed, as if the British and Russian empires, supporting France and aided by Italy, with their superiority of population and resources,—and,

above all, with their mastery of the high seas, which enables them to use all neutral nations as accessory for purposes of supply,—could wear out Germany and Austria in the long run. But a courageous Liberal member of Parliament, Mr. Charles Trevelyan, declared last month on the floor of the House of Commons that this process would take six years, and that when Germany was duly crushed the victors would also be hopelessly ruined, in the economic sense.

Peace Prospects Gloomy

If England should put forth supreme effort in the coming year, and Russia should obtain sufficient equipment for her men, it seems to us that Germany would be brought to the pass of urgently seeking terms of peace well before the end of 1916. But if the Allies are not willing to consider terms that Germany and Austria could entertain as a basis for negotiations, it would further seem likely that the war might be prolonged for still another year,—making a total war period of three years. The prospect is a sad and painful one to all who have managed to keep from becoming hardened to the terrible facts and incidents of the struggle. As yet, the fighting governments are sustained by their long-suffering peoples. There is no urgent demand for peace. The spirit of hostility is so dominant in the warring nations that most of the women are willing to lose their husbands and sons rather than to open their minds to see that the war itself is victimizing the worthy families of all countries, who have no conceivable ground of racial or national enmity.

No United Effort for Peace

From the very first there has been lacking a clear and unified expression of the neutral nations in favor of humanity. There has been no official effort to secure either a harmony of neutral sentiment or a joint expression of



"WHO SAID PEACE?"

From the New York Evening Sun.

(The purpose of the cartoon is to show what seems to be the prevailing tone in England just now, when every suggestion of peace is treated with indignant scorn. But in Germany there is evidently less arrogance than a year ago, and a diminishing idea that Germany can take whatever she wants and dictate terms of peace to crushed and submissive enemies.)

those who, being themselves at peace, desire to help the belligerents to reach an agreement. Ever since the message "Peace on earth, good will among men" expressed the spirit of the Christian propaganda, nineteen centuries ago, it has been unhappily true that the Christian nations themselves have been at war during by far the greater portion of the time. Many had believed that the political evolution of the nineteenth century would bring the principles of peace and good will into practical effect, and end the record of great wars early in the twentieth century. But the prospect now seems profoundly disheartening. Yet the normal interests that make for peace and good will are greater by far, in our generation, than the things that make for discord and strife.

Governments
Have
Failed

At the very beginning of this war we laid down the thesis in these pages that the chief reason for the conflict lay in the fact that governments do not fit the peoples who are subject to them. If there had been a political leaguering together of the nations, in harmony with the intellectual, commercial, artistic, and ethical solidarity of our modern world, this dastardly conflict would not have been possible. The methods of diplomacy have

brought deadly harm to the people. The alliances of nations, and their secret treaties and understandings, have been so many heinous conspiracies against human welfare. Imperial systems, whether of England, Germany, Russia, France, or any other power, under guidance and control of the permanent ruling classes, have been fraught with menace to the world at large. If there is to be peace in the world, with the retention of the scheme of a series of sovereign states, there must be an organization of these states for the common good; and it must be a stronger organization than any league or group of its constituent members. It would be an intolerable thing under our federation of States to have New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and one or two more in a secret league, as against some other group, or as against the independence and freedom of smaller States not protected by leagues or alliances.

We are publishing this month, from the pen of a gifted writer and thorough student, the most striking article, — and the best-informed, — on the present meaning of Great Britain's sea power that has appeared since the outbreak of the war. Until there is a high degree of security in the world for all the interests that the vast British navy is designed to protect, it would be idle to ask the ruling authorities of that country to relax their efforts to maintain naval preponderance. For the present, the British navy supplies in part the lack of a co-operative world patrol. But the rest of the world will not be willing permanently to accept the view that the oceans are to be navigated, whether in times of war or of peace, upon principles laid down by a single government. The oceans will have to be made free and neutral, under international control. An American navy, very strong in prospective development, can be used with good effect to this end.

Temporary
Need of
Self-defense

Until peace has been provided for by firm organization, every nation must be responsible for what it proposes to do with such power as it possesses. Herein lies the principle at stake in the discussion of questions of armament and defense in the United States. If we understand the prevailing sentiment, the people of this country propose to protect themselves from aggression, and also to use their influence and power in harmony with those people of other nations who are opposed to bullying and aggression, and who wish to

establish the reign of law and justice throughout our planet. There are those who think we can do more to bring about this better state of things in the world if we disarm completely, while the rest of the world is on a war basis. But there are others who perceive that our interests are precisely the same as those of the great masses of plain people in all other countries; and that peace and harmony are to come about through a process of world agreement and organization, and not through the quixotic example of one particular country that should assume that it could live upon a wholly different plane from its neighbors.

*Practical
Questions, Not
Principles*

We have already a highly expensive army and navy; and it is not likely that those people who propose to disband the army and sink the ships could command the vote of a single member of either house of Congress. Since, therefore, we are quite sure to go on for the present with an expenditure reaching several hundred millions a year for the purposes of armed defense, it is obvious that in a time of world war we should consider whether one scheme of defense upon a certain scale, or another scheme upon a different scale, is best suited to the conditions that exist in the world about us. When some years ago we entered upon a fairly definite policy of naval enlargement, our action bore a relation to the naval plans and policies of other countries. Those who advocate now a larger navy and a larger army are bringing forward no new principle whatsoever. They are continuing to hold to the established view of all our past, that the American scheme of defense should be adapted to situations elsewhere. Those who would diminish rather than increase our navy at the present moment are the people responsible for bringing forward a new conception and a new principle. They may be right. But most thoughtful people do not find anything constructive in their program.

*Militarism not
the Root
of Evil*

The trouble is not chiefly with armaments and militarism. It is with the lack of any substitute for them. Brazil, Argentina, and Chile do not arm against one another, and do not fortify their frontiers. This is because they have removed causes of controversy, have accepted principles of good neighborhood, and have definitely provided a plan for the keeping of the common peace as a substitute for the separate and individual plans of military

defense that they might otherwise have felt obliged to adopt. A foremost reason for maintaining the union of our own American States, even at the expense of one great war, was the continental peace and harmony that we desired and proposed to maintain by a method that would make it certain that different portions of North America would not maintain armaments and fortifications against each other. With Canada on the one hand, and with Mexico on the other, we have long maintained relations of amity through the sheer strength of our pacific federal policy.



UNCLE SAM (TO MR. WILSON): "I GUESS IT'S THE ONLY THING TO DO, MR. PRESIDENT"
From the *World* (New York)

*Uses
for Our
Navy*

Our recent concern about revolutionary conditions in Mexico is very different in nature and principle from a rivalry or dispute between two neighboring countries,—as, for instance, between Germany and France. It should continue to be the definite policy of the United States to bring all the countries of the Western Hemisphere into closer association and harmony, with a view to the peace and progress of our half of the world. The Monroe Doctrine from this time forth should be a matter of mutual and common guarantee. We shall not have wars with any of the democracies of North or South America. But if European empires should revive schemes of conquest and development in parts of this hemisphere, there would result a great disturbance of these Western ideal policies for establishing peace on a non-military basis; and one of the reasons for a strong American

navy just now is the further safeguarding of this pacific evolution of the Latin-American republics. When the European system of armed empires breaks up, as it must, there can be a wholesale reduction of armies, while the navies of individual countries will have to be severely restricted. That will be a happy release for overloaded Europe, and it will be welcomed in this country, because we shall then be able to cut down our army and navy bills to a minimum that will not burden us. Defense plans are relative and temporary.

Views of this kind have sufficiently impressed the country to make it probable that there will be a strong support in the opening session of the new Congress for some such program of army and navy expansion as will be recommended by the President and the Secretaries of War and of the Navy. When this is said, however, it is not to be supposed that such measures will be enacted perfunctorily, or without great divergence of opinion on the practical side. It is one thing to hold that the country should be better prepared for defense, and quite a different thing to agree upon a working program. One of the foremost opponents of the Defense League, who attacks unsparingly all those proposing larger military measures, in an eloquent lecture last month denounced the President's changed attitude and caused many of his hearers to understand that he would personally favor the entire abolition of our army and navy. When asked privately, however, what position he would take just now if he were a member of the Congress that meets on December 6, he replied that he would, as a single item, provide for the immediate ex-

penditure in the coming year of approximately \$50,000,000 for a large fleet of new submarines. This merely illustrates the point that what we have before us now is not so much a matter of principle as it is of technical



WILSON: "Can it really be that the pen is mightier than the sword?"

From *De Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam)

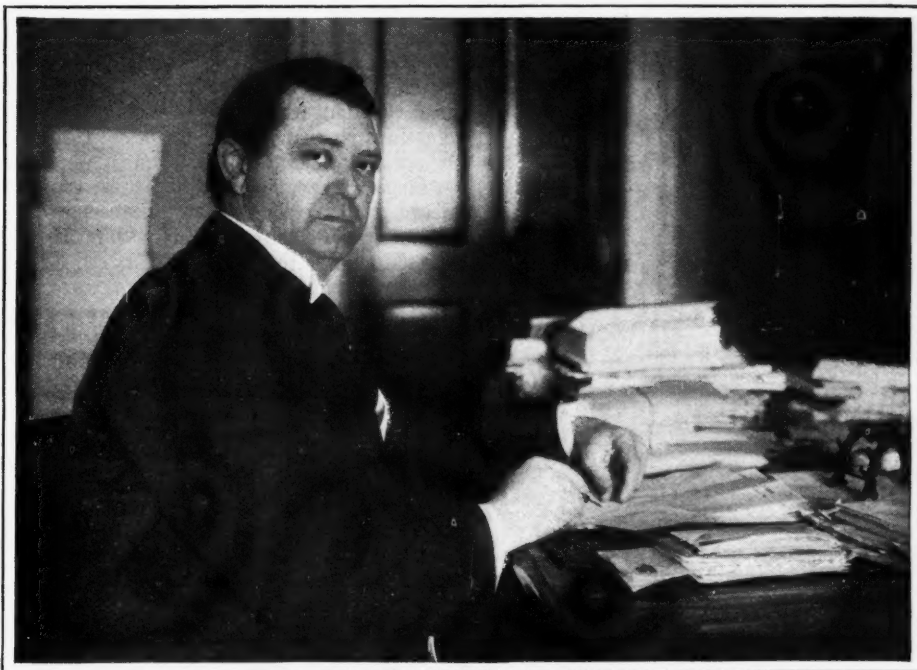
judgment regarding what will constitute the best form of military and naval defense.

Bryan
Assails the
President

Mr. Bryan has been very active in opposing the announced military proposals of the Administration in which he was so prominent a figure until a few months ago. For the most part his talk has taken the form of attack. The public does not know what Mr. Bryan would do if he had to shape the army and navy bills in the forthcoming session. In 1898 Mr. Bryan became a colonel of volunteers. He countenanced the military policies and expenditures of that period. He talks now as if new and broad principles were involved in the President's proposals. Page after page of his paper, the *Commoner*, is filled with denunciation of those who would have the military arrangements of this country bear some reference to the changed military conditions of the world in which we live. To imagine that Mr. Bryan's talk is on high grounds of statesmanship and ethics, while Secretary Garrison's talk is on a lower plane of statesmanship and ethics, is pure nonsense. Mr. Garrison is in a position where he is responsible for definite proposals. The trou-



RIGHT ON HIS TRAIL
From the *Sun* (Baltimore)



HON. CLAUDE KITCHIN OF NORTH CAROLINA. LEADER OF THE HOUSE

(Mr. Kitchin was the ranking Democratic member of the Ways and Means Committee and he has been selected by his colleagues to succeed Mr. Underwood, who now takes his seat in the Senate. The Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee is floor leader and manager for his party and his position is one of great importance. The fact that he is opposed to the Administration's plan of army and navy increase was not expected last month to result in an effort to depose him from his chairmanship and leadership)

ble with too many of those who criticize the efforts of the Administration to put the country in a better position for defense, lies in the lack of alternative proposals on their part. We do not refer, of course, to those other critics who think the Administration program could be improved in particular ways.

*How Will
Congress
Act?*

There has been a very rapid shifting of ground on the part of Democratic leaders. An exception is the Hon. Claude Kitchin, of North Carolina, who is expected to be chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and floor leader of the Democratic majority in the House. It is natural that the man who must lead in formulating revenue measures should dislike large increases in expenditure. The Treasury is greatly depleted, even on the present scale of public expense, because cessation of imports has reduced tariff income. It is agreed that sugar shall not go on the free list, and that the so-called "war tax" will be maintained. We can see no possible reason why, in the present world emergency, an enlarged navy should not be built with money raised by the sale of bonds. Secretary

McAdoo continues to advocate the purchase of a large number of merchant ships by the Government, which can be used in South American trade and be held available for transport and other naval auxiliary service



"THISTLES"

(Mr. Kitchin makes his offering to the Democratic mule)
From the World (New York)



"STICK TO THE RULES, JOHN"
From the Public Ledger (Philadelphia)

in time of war. His views were recently presented in an elaborate speech at Indianapolis. When this proposal comes up again in Congress, it will lead to a very desirable debate upon the related topics of our foreign commerce, our means of water transportation, and the relation of naval defense to ocean traffic. Many facts and considerations are involved, and the time has come for a new survey of the whole subject, without prejudice and in the light of changed conditions. Mr. McAdoo's views are gaining ground.

Thus far, since the European war began, our policies have been of a negative and drifting character. Many things have been done by private agencies to bring commendation to the American people; but our official standing is not as high as it ought to be either with belligerents or with neutrals. We took no position at all with regard to the invasion and conquest of Belgium. We assumed a certain argumentative position regarding the interference with our cotton shipments, and we secured some grants of favor from those who were denying us our rights of foreign trade. But whereas we had an opportunity to bring together the leading neutral powers concerned, in order to formulate an irreducible minimum of principles to be maintained, we assumed no leadership on behalf of neutral rights in general and did not even make a

stand for our own rights in particular. We risked the peace of the country upon a belated assertion of the theoretical right of a native-born or naturalized American citizen to travel in dangerous war zones upon belligerent ships carrying munitions of war directly to scenes of action. Thus our policies, in so far as we have had any, have followed accidents in an opportunist way, instead of dealing swiftly and constructively with main questions, in order that the accidents should not occur. Prompt and positive courses are safest.

Challenging
England—a
Year Too Late

The conditions under which our trade was arbitrarily controlled by British Orders in Council were much more harmful and objectionable to us at the beginning of the present year than they are now. Yet we have now sent an elaborate document of protest to England, containing charges and accusations which, under ordinary conditions, would lead to serious trouble. If we had sent this document to England last winter, and had stood firmly for what we held to be our rights, there would have been no *Lusitania* disaster. We were in a perfect position to secure respect for the minimum program of neutral rights that ought to have been agreed upon by a conference of neutral nations under our lead. Since our note of last month to England sets forth what the real opinion of the Administration is (and has always been) regarding interference with our commerce, we are forced to wonder upon what conceivable ground this belated complaint has been held in reserve for nearly a year.



KEEPING THE LIGHT BURNING
From the World (New York)

*Open
Discussion
Needed*

It is fortunate that Congress is about to meet, and that we may hope to have genuine discussion of all these matters. Our system of government does not lend itself well to international emergencies. A President is elected by us for reasons of domestic politics, rather than for those of international statesmanship. We have no ministry or cabinet accountable to the people's representative parliamentary chambers, as England, France, and most European countries have. In all these matters, when Congress is not in session, our system permits a rule that is more arbitrary than that of any other important government unless one excepts that of Russia. It is this centralization of immense governing power, employing a patronage unknown in any other country (and greater perhaps than that of all other countries combined), that underlies the instinctive sentiment in favor of a single term for the President. The duties of the Presidential office are so exceedingly varied and arduous that the only wonder is that any man can perform them even passably well. No such office exists in any other important country, and nothing in the nature of the office calls for a long term,—except that in practise, since Jackson's time, there have always gone with Presidential changes such partisan upheavals in the personnel of departmental, diplomatic, and other services that short terms mean a welter of inefficiency.

*Evils of
Party
Government*

Party government, even in countries which have real parties, fails in times of great emergencies; and the endeavor is usually made to associate leaders of all political elements in united support and guidance of governmental action,—as may be witnessed at the present time in England, France, and all other European countries. With us in America there are now no real political parties in the European sense, except for the Socialists and some other minor groups. Our two so-called "great" parties do not differ enough in essential principles, or in programs of action, to be distinguishable from each other. Most of the leaders of one party might just as well be the leaders of the other, so far as their convictions are concerned. Most of them belong to one party or the other through the same kind of accidental circumstances that might have made some of them attend a church of one denomination and some of them belong to a rival congregation. These two parties stand to-day as the chief enemies of good government in our municipalities and

our States, and it is not treasonable to say that their methods and their rivalry are the chief obstacle to good government in the sphere of national and international affairs.

*How Politics
Taints
Diplomacy*

However good or bad a Secretary of State Mr. Bryan may have been, his particular training was not the best preparation for that office at a time when international questions were of foremost concern to all of us in this country. It was a life-and-death matter, as well as a matter of dollars and cents, that we should have had the ablest and best talent in the country shaping our foreign policy and handling diplomatic questions during the past two years. Yet Mr. Bryan was made head of the State Department for reasons of Democratic party politics alone. We were obliged to witness the recall of trained ambassadors and ministers, and the substitution of untried men in diplomatic posts, all to satisfy the pressure of so-called "good Democrats" for salaries and honors at the public expense. The exigencies of internal politics in the Democratic party have led to the demoralization of our painfully constructed fabric of good administration in the Philippine Islands. Phases of party politics had been involved in the treatment of the Mexican question, and, worst of all, in the diplomacy that relates to the permanent use and control of the Panama Canal. Herein lie real dangers to public interest.

*The Shocking
Colombian
Treaty*

There is now pending in the United States Senate a treaty with the Republic of Colombia, so suspicious in its origins, so shameful in its explicit provisions, and so fraught with mischief beyond remedy, that to ratify it would be a climax of stupidity and folly if it were not something worse. Things of this kind would be impossible if there were any such thing as intelligent continuity in the work of our Department of State, with sharp elimination of party politics and self-seeking partisan adventurers from the field of our foreign relationships and diplomatic service. These strictures may sound severe, but they are expressed with great deliberation and are well inside the limits of permissible criticism. We are now about to face the insincere maneuvers and plays for position of these two venerable parties in their complicated quadrennial game that dominates the always dreaded year of a Presidential election. And the taint of "party" will affect foreign and domestic policies alike, every day during the coming eleven months.

*New York's
Embattled
Politicians*

Are we, then, to act every man for himself in politics, and lack the convenient aid of the large voluntary associations called "parties"? This does not necessarily follow. The first point to be gained is to get rid of that all-pervasive partisanship that does not exist to help and serve the citizen, but to plunder him through the devices of party politicians and those interests that play the game of politics for private profit. Mr. Root, as president of the New York Constitutional Convention, declared that during his long experience, extending over nearly half a century, the public affairs of the State of New York had not been ruled by the people or their elected officers, but by the bosses of political parties. These bosses, while rivals for the major share of the spoils, are "hand-and-glove" when it comes to protecting the spoils system that benefits the elaborate organizations of both parties. Thus the new constitution, submitted to the voters of New York on Election Day last month, was defeated by a majority of approximately 470,000. The majority against it in New York City was 300,000, while the rest of the State contributed enough to bring the total almost to the half-million mark. What reason can be given for this overwhelming rejection of an admirable document that was entitled to great praise and that should have been adopted as decisively as it was condemned? There is only one answer: It was defeated by a swarming army of Democratic and Republican politicians.

*How the New
Constitution
Was Beaten*

The chief object of the so-called "Root constitution" was to make the government of New York compact and efficient, and to restore it to the control of the people. Not only would it have reformed the larger government of the State, but it would have led to reform in counties and localities. Naturally, Tammany was against it, while the State Republican machine and the "small-fry" politicians in counties, villages, and rural districts, taking orders from their party chiefs, became ac-

tive agents for misrepresenting the work of the convention and creating prejudice against it. There was, indeed, some sincere opposition on points of detail. Many people voted against the constitution because it did not bring about a particular reform they desired, although its adoption was certain to make it much easier to secure what they wished in the near future. These sincere people did not defeat the constitution. Not one voter in a thousand read the proposed document. Its friends were not able, in the short time at their disposal, to overcome the prejudice created by the leagued spoilsmen of the political machines.

*Milestones in
the Fight for
Freedom*

There will be some chance for real parties in this country when we can restore the field of administration to the people. There are real parties in England; but the post-office service, the custom-house service, the vast field of municipal employment, and practically all other administrative services, whether general or local, are not controlled by one party or the other, and are not subject to the ups and downs of party victory or defeat. In these pages last month we made note of the

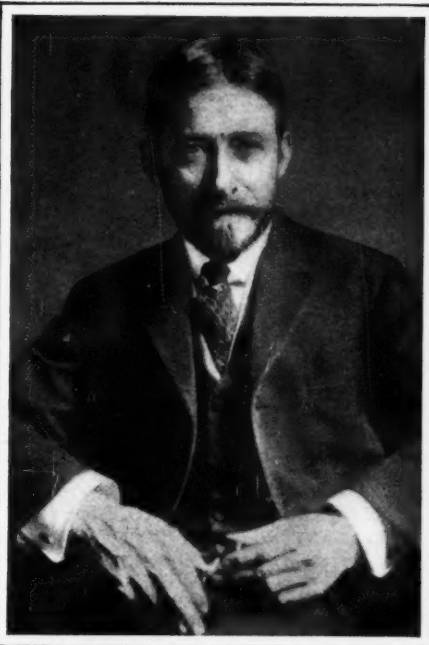


NO TAG NEEDED
From the Tribune (Los Angeles)

fine endeavor of California to rid itself of partisanship in State affairs, even as it had succeeded in doing in municipal and local matters. The politicians, in the special election of October 26, defeated the non-partisan State referendum by a majority of about 20,000. But it is reasonable to predict that California will even yet, in the not-distant future, adopt this reform and set an example to other States. We are publishing in this number (see page 731) an article on the recent municipal election in the city of Buffalo. For a good many years this important municipality of half a million people has desired to manage its affairs efficiently on a business basis, under the commission form of government, and has fought against the rule of party machines. This opportunity has been won at last, and the results will be worth observing. Buffalo will now show what can be done for the taxpayers and the public on a plan that discards machine politics. Persistent effort has gained great reforms.

*Tammany's
Victory*

Undoubtedly great advances have been made in New York City during recent years through the election of non-partisan officials. There will, of course, be occasional lapses back to Tammany control; but even Tammany accepts from time to time the improvements in administration that are worked out and put in practice under non-partisan officials who are aided by such scientific and expert agencies as the Bureau of Municipal Research. In many details not mentioned in newspaper headlines, there is steady progress in the corporate management of New York City. The conduct of municipal elections always has a tendency, however, to drift back into the control of the political machines. The citizens' movements, which support so-called "fusion" tickets, are strong as a rule only when interest is aroused by the election of a mayor. Thus last month a new Board of Aldermen was voted for, with the result that fifty-four Democrats and nineteen Republicans were elected, to take office on the 1st of January. The retiring Board, over which the Hon. George McAneny has presided with usefulness and efficiency, came into office with the present Mayor and Comptroller on a fusion ticket, and its majority represented the union of citizens against Tammany Hall. Two years hence, an effort will be made to redeem the Board again; but meanwhile it lapses to the domination of the Democratic party, which means Tammany. The Democrats also elected a Dis-



© American Press Ass'n., N. Y.

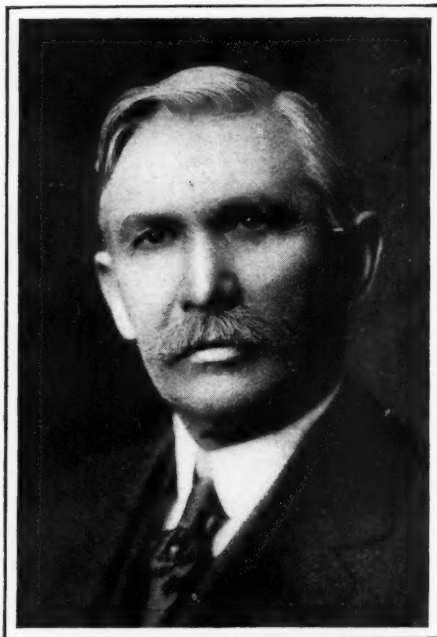
HON. GEORGE MCANENY, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF ALDERMEN

(Mr. McAneny, who was elected with the Fusion ticket in 1913, for a four-years term, is about to resign in order to become one of the managers of the New York Times. He was formerly President of the Borough of Manhattan, and for many years has been a prominent municipal and civil-service reformer. Under the non-partisan administrative systems of England or Germany, Mr. McAneny would be made Mayor or Governor and kept in the public service for life)

trict Attorney, to take the place formerly held by Governor Whitman.

*Like Results in
Philadelphia*

In Philadelphia the election was for Mayor and full control of the city. The Hon. Rudolph Blankenburg had served as Mayor for four years on a non-partisan plan, representing in the highest degree the spirit of efficiency and of fine public service. To succeed Mr. Blankenburg, the independent citizens had chosen Mr. George D. Porter as their candidate. He had been Director of Public Safety, and a foremost member of the Blankenburg régime. The Republican organization brought forward Mr. Thomas B. Smith, who had been a typical partisan and officeholder. The Democrats had a candidate in Mr. B. Gordon Bromley. The results, as announced a few days after the election, were: 166,643 for the Republican, 88,135 for the Independent, and 4741 for the Democrat. It is not to the credit of leading personages in the national Republican and



HON. EMERSON C. HARRINGTON

(Who will be the new Governor of Maryland and is under pledges to work for efficiency and reform in the State Government)

Democratic organizations that they should have congratulated themselves upon the Philadelphia vote in one case and the New York City vote in the other. Both results mean but one thing,—a victory of machine politics in a municipal election in which party issues have no legitimate place. Republican victory in Philadelphia and Tammany victory in New York are merely local brands of the same kind of failure of good government. A thousand Tammany Democrats moving to Philadelphia would vote the Republican ticket. A thousand typical Philadelphia Republicans moving to New York would join Tammany.

A Few State Elections

The few important State elections afford no real indication of the drifts of party strength preliminary to the approaching national contest. Mr. McCall, the Republican candidate, was chosen Governor of Massachusetts by a modest plurality over Governor Walsh. Mr. Stanley (Democrat) was elected Governor of Kentucky on a margin so close that a handful of votes turned the other way would have elected the Republican. Mr. Harrington (Democrat) carried Maryland amidst unwonted pleas for good government, lifted

above motives and methods of political greed. In the States of New York and New Jersey the Republicans won control of legislatures. Little in these State and local elections of last month can fairly be interpreted as indicating either approval or disapproval of President Wilson's administration. In certain places there were German-Americans who claimed that local results were due to feeling against the President's foreign policies.

Ohio—Improving City Government

The Ohio elections attracted attention outside of the State chiefly by reason of the referendum vote on prohibition. Decisive opposition in the large cities defeated the amendment, but by a considerably smaller majority than last year. The people of a State ought not to be called upon to vote on a question of that kind more frequently than once in five years. The Republican proposal to redistrict the State for Congressional purposes was also defeated. Of more than ordinary interest were several of the municipal elections. Thus Cleveland and Columbus elected Mayors under charters providing for preferential voting, and intended to thwart the power of political machines. The result in Columbus was to reelect George J. Karb as Mayor for a fifth term. Under the new charter he will serve four years. He is a Democrat, but was elected on his record and his personal merits. The Council, having only seven members, has a majority of Republicans, but the members were elected for individual fitness, and the Columbus newspapers regard the city as "freed from all the old party shackles." In Cleveland, also, the voter has opportunity to cast his ballot so marked as to indicate his first, second, and third choices among the candidates proposed for a given office. Mr. Harry Davis was elected Mayor as a result of the combining of first, second, and third choice votes,—six candidates being on the ticket. He defeated Mayor Witt, who had been one of the followers of Tom Johnson. The Mayor-elect is a Republican, but the new City Council will contain sixteen Democrats and ten Republicans. It is hard to find out to what extent partisanship prevailed in Cleveland, where the purpose of the charter is to secure non-partisan municipal government. In Cincinnati, Mr. George Puchta, the Republican candidate, was elected Mayor by a large majority. Mr. Puchta promises a thorough business administration, and Cincinnati, like other Ohio cities, seems to be making commendable progress in many ways.

*Ashtabula Tries
a Scientific
Scheme*

Ashtabula is not one of the larger cities of Ohio, but it is a typical community of about 20,000 inhabitants. It held its election under a new charter, providing for proportional representation under the famous "Hare system." As this plan had never been employed before in the United States, a number of students and reformers interested in a more perfect mechanism of representative government went to Ashtabula to see the experiment tried. The new City Council will have a membership of seven. There were sixteen candidates. The Hare system provides for cumulative voting. On this plan a minority group, having more than one-eighth of the total voting strength, could in Ashtabula so concentrate as to elect one member of the board. It will be interesting to know whether the theoretical claims of the Hare system will be justified in the practical business of Ashtabula. At least much credit is due for the courage to make this trial. This system is in use to some extent in Australia and New Zealand. Ashtabula makes it part of a new charter which provides for government by commission and city manager. All such governmental experiments, whether in California, Ohio, or as set forth in our article on the Buffalo election, illustrate the growing purpose of the American people to shake off the contemptible shackles of cheap party politics, and to find some way to govern our splendid cities and great commonwealths upon a worthy and efficient plan. The very fact of the defeat of the New York State constitution by so bold a union of up-State and down-State politicians, furnishes an exhibition of the extent of the evil to be combated. The fight will go on.

*The Woman
Suffrage
Question*

We noted last month the rejection of woman suffrage in New Jersey at a special election held on October 19. The official figures of the vote (those given in the REVIEW last month were preliminary) show 133,282 in favor and 184,300 against,—a majority of 51,000 in round figures. On the regular election day, November 2, the suffrage question was voted upon in Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts. As we had predicted, the proposal fared best in Pennsylvania, where (approximately) 356,000 votes were cast in favor and 400,000 against,—a majority of 44,000. It should be observed that the State outside of the city of Philadelphia gave a slight majority in favor of suffrage. In New York the vote was (unofficially) 515,-

000 for and 710,000 against,—a majority of 195,000. This majority was almost equally divided between New York City and the rest of the State. In Massachusetts (also unofficial figures) the vote stood 163,500 for and 295,500 against,—a majority of 132,000. The Massachusetts defeat was much the most decisive, as had been expected.

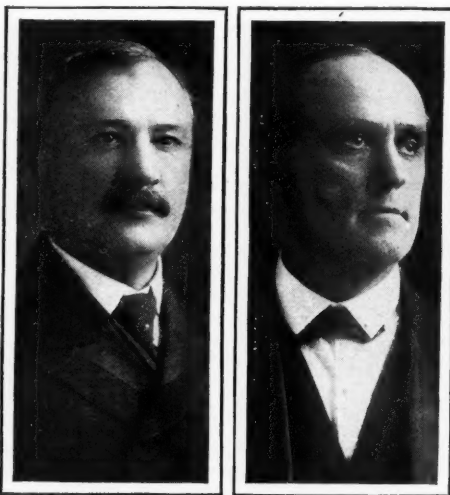
*Facts
Brought to
Mind*

Our readers may care to be reminded again that Wisconsin, Michigan, and Ohio rejected woman suffrage in 1912, and that Ohio rejected it again in 1914. Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota also defeated it in 1914. Woman suffrage as it exists in Illinois has not been tested by a popular verdict. It does not reach to offices mentioned in the State constitution. The legislature has conferred it, and it is applicable only to offices not designated in the organic law, and would thus not seem to harmonize with the spirit or intent of the constitution. No State east of the Mississippi as yet has fully accepted woman suffrage. California, Oregon, Washington, Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming are the States that have conferred the full franchise upon women. Opponents of the movement claim that in California the suffrage victory was won by a slight majority, with only a third of the voters going to the polls. But this at least would indicate that the public was ready to accept the result. As for the recent campaign in the East, the remarkable thing is the immense vote cast in favor of suffrage. The movement has grown with astonishing rapidity. A very few years ago not one-third as many favorable votes could have been secured in these four States.

*To Work
for National
Suffrage*

The suffragists are now proposing to center their efforts upon Congress. They wish to secure an amendment to the Constitution of the United States that will give full and nation-wide enfranchisement to women. There would be requisite a two-thirds vote of each of the houses, after which the amendment would go to the States for ratification. The proceeding in recent instances (as, for example, the direct election of Senators and the income-tax clause) has been by simple act of legislatures. When three-fourths of the States have accepted an amendment, the fact is duly proclaimed and the provision becomes effective. Our very capable and expert suffrage leaders have learned that they

can do business better with small bodies than with large. Thus the national amendment would avoid any referendum whatever to the voters. Congress would simply pass the thing along to the States, and the suffragists would concentrate upon one legislature after another until they had, in the course of a few years, secured thirty-six ratifications. Such is the present program, and the first part of it is to be undertaken at Washington this winter. President Wilson is on record as opposed to a national suffrage amendment, while at the last moment he decided to cast his vote in favor of amending the New Jersey constitution.



© Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.

HON. JAMES HAY

HON. L. P. PADGETT

(Mr. Hay, of Virginia, is chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs. Mr. Padgett, of Tennessee, is chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs. Both have expressed their approval of the President's program for national defense.)

President
Wilson's
Program

It became definitely known in October that the President was prepared to propose an increase in the army and navy; and the Administration views were explained in these pages last month. A more formal statement, however, was made to the country under the guise of an address by the President at a dinner of the Manhattan Club in New York, on November 4. The President's speech was an admirable example of his felicitous diction. Most of it was devoted to a skilful minimizing of the differences between those who favor bold defensive measures and those who oppose them. Nothing was said about raising the money to pay the bills. No specifications were given as to the extent of the proposed

increase of the regular army or increase of the navy. The only definite statement had to do with the enlisting of an extra force, of 400,000 men, in the next three years, who should belong neither to the regular army on the one hand nor to the militia on the other, yet should not be amateurs, but real soldiers. These men would be expected to take a brief period of intensive drill each year for three years, and then be enrolled in a reserve force for three years more.

Democrats
Falling into
Line

Democratic leaders on the Atlantic and Pacific seaboard are strong for immediate defensive action. Senator Chamberlain, of Oregon, and Senator Phelan, of California, have expressed themselves without reserve. But Democratic leaders living in the interior of the country are more inclined to concur in Mr. Bryan's views. The influence of the Administration, however, is so dominant that the opponents of the preparedness program have expressed the opinion that there will be no effective opposition in Congress to the measures that have Administration endorsement. The earlier view that the President could not pass his bills without a large Republican support is no longer held. Many Republicans, in both houses of Congress, will favor measures more far-reaching than those of the party in power.

Shall the
Senate Limit
Debate?

Probably the first topic that will engage the attention of the Senate will be the adoption of new rules, providing a way to limit debate. The



THE "FORKLESS" MENU
From the Tribune (South Bend)

House of Representatives, ever since the days of Speaker Reed, has had a method by which a party majority, held together by the binding rules of a party caucus, can force a bill to its passage with only a few minutes or a few hours allowed for debate. Real debating has for a long time been confined to the Senate. At times a minority abuses the privilege of unlimited debate, and filibusters. Yet the present Administration has been able to carry an enormous amount of legislation to a successful end, without depriving the Republicans of their privilege of unrestrained speech. There is much to be said for and against the proposal to give the Senate majority a right to fix the limits of debate and demand a vote on any pending measure. Certainly nothing like the House rules should be adopted. Probably the advantages of very deliberate action in the Senate outweigh the evils of an occasional filibuster. Democratic leaders now hold that the Senate is not a continuing body in the strict sense, and that at the beginning of a new Congress the previous rules are not binding. Accepting this view, there can be no filibuster against the closing of debate upon a motion relating to the adoption of new rules. As one goes back over the history of proceedings in Congress, the discovery is soon made that either party, whenever in full power, favors a change in the Senate rules; while the party out of power always tries to preserve the full debating prerogative of the Senate's minority.

the effect of causing him to refuse absolutely to permit his name to be presented before the primaries. As we informed our readers last month, the first of these primaries occurs in Minnesota, on March 14. It has been expected that the progressive Republican elements in that State would support Senator Cummins of Iowa, and that the representatives of conservative business interests would unite upon Mr. Root.



WILL THEY RESORT TO CONSCRIPTION?
From the Sun (New York)

**Who Will Run
Against
Wilson?**

There are no indications that any factions or elements in the Democratic party will openly oppose the renomination of President Wilson. Mr. Bryan holds that the country ought to adopt the one-term plan, but has not said that he would oppose a second term for a given man as long as reelection is legal. Republicans, Democrats, and Progressives alike are asking who is to run against Wilson. The movement for Mr. Root had become formidable throughout the country, but it received a severe setback in the defeat of the new constitution that Mr. Root had taken the lead in constructing. The politicians are saying that this election has shown that "Root is not a vote-getter"; and that the conditions are such that he could not hope to carry his own State of New York. While this view may be wholly mistaken, it is none the less true that the adoption of the constitution would have gone very far towards making Mr. Root the Republican nominee, while its defeat may have

**Hughes in the
Nebraska
Primary**

Another phase of the preliminary canvass was presented by the efforts of Justice Charles E. Hughes, of the Supreme Court (formerly Governor of New York State), to prevent the placing of his name upon the ballot paper in the Republican Presidential primary of Nebraska. This primary election does not occur till next April, and the voting papers will not be printed for some months. No reason has been given why a certain group of men in Nebraska should have chosen a date in November for filing a nomination petition that could just as well have been held in reserve for several months. Justice Hughes asks the Nebraska Secretary of State to disregard and reject the petition, on the ground that he is not a candidate. The question has been raised whether the Hughes petition in Nebraska was the work of men who were really desirous of having the Justice elected President of the United States. Everybody of a very moderate intelligence knows that Mr. Hughes could not

possibly permit himself to be put in the position of seeking a political nomination; and newspaper headlines announcing that "Justice Hughes will not be a candidate" are prepared either stupidly or maliciously.

*How Real
"Hughes Men"
Can Proceed*

In the Republican primaries, whether of Nebraska or any other State, there will be nothing to prevent any voter from writing on his ballot paper the name of any man whom he favors. There is no need of filing a nominating petition in advance. Nothing can prevent Nebraska Republicans from telling one another that they intend to express in the primary their preference for Charles E. Hughes. In any case the Presidency is an office that should seek the man. Mr. Roosevelt did not desire to make the run in the Presidential primaries of 1912. The thing was fairly forced upon him by a popular demand expressed through a group of Western Governors. If Western Republicans wish to vote for Mr. Roosevelt in their primaries next spring, they will not need his previous announcement of candidacy, nor any kind of consultation with him. It is true that the primary laws are complicated because the expression of a Presidential preference is in most of the States mixed up with an election of delegates to the national convention. But, nevertheless, any voter who prefers Hughes or Roosevelt or Root can express himself, with influence and due effect, by the simple process of naming his man on the ballot paper in the primaries. It is evident that if a judge on the bench is to be nominated he can take no part in the preliminary proceedings. The primaries will bring out interesting expressions and trends of sentiment; but it is probable that the Republican nomination will be made next year in a convention that will take several ballots in the old-fashioned way. It will be time enough for Mr. Hughes to think about it after the convention has named him and urged his acceptance.

*Congress and
America's
Policies*

While Congress must admittedly proceed to ask and answer the question what we ought to do about our own defenses, and the further question how to raise the money to pay the Government's bills, it ought to debate freely some of the larger aspects of our relationship to the world. We ought to help much more vigorously than heretofore to persuade Europe to end the war and adjust differences upon permanent lines. We ended our war

of 1812 without either side having gained a decisive victory; yet we were able as a result of sobering reactions after the calamities of warfare, to settle many disputed matters upon lines of justice and harmony that have endured for a hundred and one years, and that will insure peace for another century. Germany and France could afford now to settle the Alsace-Lorraine question on a compromise line, recognizing local dialect and preference, and could agree to abolish all fortifications and never again to question the validity of established boundaries. The United States could propose a policy with reference to the freedom of the seas, the re-



"COL. ROOSEVELT IS TO BE RECKONED WITH"

duction of navies, and the safeguarding of world-trade and commerce that would deserve and perhaps secure the support of all nations. We make a colossal mistake if we suppose that the overburdened individual whom we choose as chief executive, and upon whom we impose innumerable tasks, is in a position to think out for us the constructive solutions of problems that affect our future place in the world. These subjects require the best thinking of all the best minds of the nation, and are entitled to open and frank discussion. Secret diplomacy, and closed doors when the Senate debates foreign matters, have become discredited and should be abandoned. If there is anything that stands in the way of permanent friendship between our country and Japan, let us know what it is

and try to deal with it on fine and just principles and by common-sense methods. We seem to have important work to do in the islands of the West Indies for economic, governmental, and financial stability. It can benefit the whole world, and particularly the islands concerned. We ought to do this work to the best of our ability, and tackle it promptly. The time has come for finding a constructive policy of helpfulness to Mexico. It would be imbecile to ignore the fact that foreign capital rightfully owns the major part of Mexican resources and business facilities. American and European interests in Mexico can be helped back to normal prosperity, while the Mexican people themselves can be assisted in ways that will advance their condition and give them a fresh start in the direction of real democracy. Precisely now would seem to be the favorable time for deciding what form this help to Mexico should take. It is a large question and involves the future of both countries. Then there is the Philippine question, which has met with unfortunate treatment at the hands of the present administration and which demands the best strength and wisdom of Congress.

Mexico's Rehabilitation

Mexico is slowly getting back to normal business conditions. In a statement issued by our own State Department the assertion is made that two-thirds of the railroad equipment of the country was destroyed during the six years of insurrection. The railroad lines have now been transferred from military to civil control and as rapidly as possible regular traffic is being resumed. As soon as the railroads become able to move freight regularly from the coastal warehouse points to the interior, trade conditions throughout the country will change for the better. There is now a serious freight congestion at Vera Cruz and other ports. The Carranza Government, recognized in October by the United States and eight of the Latin-American republics, has announced an agrarian policy. The large estates taken for accrued taxes are to be divided into farms and sold, —not given,—to small farmers. Education, too, is to have aid from the federal government, in addition to local support. General Carranza declares that those parts of Mexico which have been under his rule are better supplied with schools to-day than they were before the insurrection began. Elections will not be attempted for at least a year, and the Washington Government, recognizing the

turbulence that still exists in some of the provinces, seems quite willing to have them postponed indefinitely. This is in marked contrast with the Administration's attitude during the Huerta régime. The Government has put in force the embargo on munition shipments noted in these pages last month. Villa's guerrillas, while keeping up a show of fighting, have made no real headway. Carranza's troops have been permitted to cross American territory, and border firing has resulted, as heretofore, in the loss of American lives.

The Balkan Situation

Mr. Simonds' excellent review, in this number, of the actual war situation last month gives relatively more attention than usual to the diplomatic aspects. His sources of information are varied and of exceptional reliability, and he surveys the campaigns month after month with an unflinching intelligence and a rare ability to explain and to describe that have won the increasing confidence and admiration of our readers from the beginning of the war. Let us then particularly commend, as deserving close study, the analysis that Mr. Simonds gives in this present number of the REVIEW of the remarkable state of affairs in the little Balkan countries. He shows us why and how Allied diplomacy failed, and Teuton diplomacy succeeded, in Bulgaria. He shows us how behind the scenes the Kaiser's sister, Queen of Greece, has been the restraining influence, in defeating the earlier plans of Venizelos to enter the war against the Teutons and Turks. And he also helps us to see the bearings of the Rumanian position, which has been so obscure and so hard to comprehend.

Why and How Germany Proceeds

Those who would understand both Germany's political motives and her military methods in the sensational and brilliant alliance with Bulgaria and swift opening up of communications from the Golden Horn to the North Sea, will find Mr. Simonds' narration as illuminating as pen could make it. Germany had not been able to bring the war fully home to England, because the submarine campaign had proved a failure and the Zeppelin raids had only stimulated the recruiting movement. She had been driven off the seas, and could only hope to strike at England by menacing Egypt and India through reënforcing Turkey and stirring up the Mohammedan world. While the newspapers were still asking if Bulgaria and Germany



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

QUEEN SOPHIA OF GREECE, ONE OF THE MOST POTENT PERSONAGES IN THE GAME OF BALKAN DIPLOMACY

(This distinguished lady is a sister of the German Emperor, and has from the first opposed the Venizelos program and stood for Greek neutrality. Last month she was striving to thwart Lord Kitchener's efforts to involve Greece in the cause of the Allies)

could succeed in opening communication across Serbia, the thing had been accomplished. First, the Danube was opened and flotillas of steamboats were carrying German and Austrian supplies to Bulgarian points for transshipment to Constantinople. Then in a short time, by (1) a southward movement of German troops, (2) an eastward movement of Austrian forces, and (3) a westward movement of Bulgarian armies, the main railroad route from central Europe to the Orient was Teutonized and through trains of supplies were passing from Germany to Turkey, while carrying back cotton, wheat, and other things that Germany greatly needed.

The New French Cabinet

It is not strange that England and France should have been shaken up by these events; that the French cabinet should have been reorganized; that there should have been much plain talk in the British Parliament and the English newspapers. The French Foreign Minister, Delcassé, had withdrawn from the

cabinet, and the Prime Minister, Viviani, was compelled later to resign in order that Aristide Briand, the masterful Socialist leader who was for a time Prime Minister six years ago, might step to the front as head of a new ministry at this hour of supreme crisis. There were other changes, the most important of which was the conferring of the portfolio of war upon General Gallieni, who as Military Governor of Paris had turned the German flank and saved the capital in the early weeks of the war, and who shares with General Joffre the especial admiration and confidence of the French people. Another member of the cabinet, Denys Cochin, was sent to confer with King Constantine and carry something like an ultimatum to the Greeks, whose aid had become necessary.

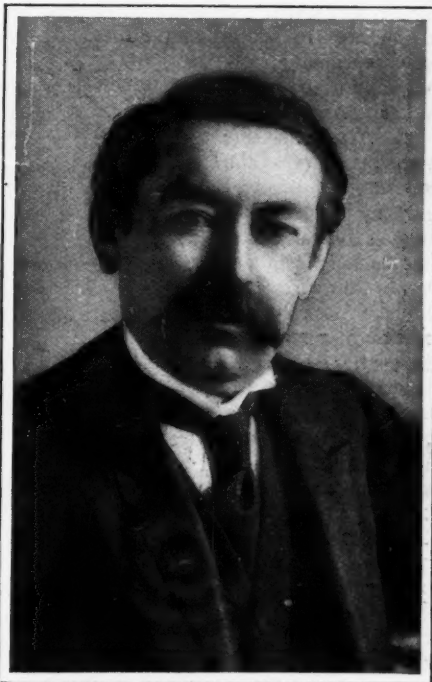
England in like manner sent Lord Kitchener to the Dardanelles, Salonica, and Athens, be-

cause of critical decisions to be made without delay. Another result of the Balkan situation was the forming of a joint Anglo-French council of war which had its first meeting in Paris on November 17. In the absence of Kitchener, Premier Asquith represented the war department and took with him Mr. Balfour as head of the navy, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Bonar Law. On the French side were Messrs. Briand, Gallieni, with General Joffre and the Minister of Marine. It was expected that Russia and Italy will join this central council, and that there will be a more unified direction of the war than heretofore. At the beginning of the war a leading figure in the British Government was Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, a position corresponding to that of our Secretary of the Navy. But Mr. Churchill was regarded as personally responsible for several unfortunate ventures, notably the ill-timed naval expedition to the Dardanelles. When the Asquith cabinet was reconstructed, in order to admit a number of members of the Unionist party, Mr. Arthur J. Balfour took Churchill's place at the Admiralty, and the younger man was given an inactive cabinet post. Last month Mr. Churchill resigned from the cabinet, made a great speech in Parliament upon his own record and the general conduct of the war, and promptly proceeded to the front as an officer in a volunteer regiment of which he has long been a member. There is always, in times of military reverse, a disposition to find scapegoats. While Mr. Churchill did not try to put the blame upon other individuals, his

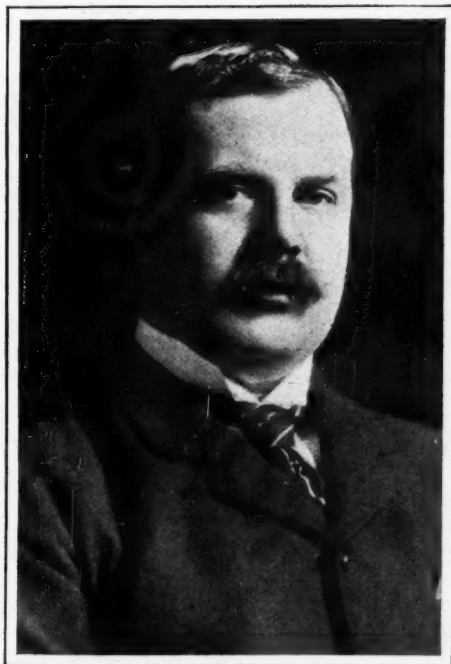
speech convinced his enemies as well as his friends that he had been unfairly criticized and that the professional military and naval authorities, as well as the cabinet as a whole, had fully considered the expeditions that had been denounced as Churchill's blunders.

*English
Recruiting*

The recruiting work has gone forward with increasing success in England, and more than three million men have been enlisted. Entirely new methods have been used since October, under the full direction of the Earl of Derby. This vigorous nobleman has had wide experience in executive work, and is what we in America would call an "efficiency" or "scientific management" enthusiast. He took recruiting out of the hands of the military authorities, and proceeded upon a plan of exhaustive civilian organization, based upon census records. Every eligible man in the United Kingdom was to be personally canvassed. On November 11 Lord Derby announced that the Government would adopt compulsory measures if young, unmarried men did not come forward in sufficient num-



ARISTIDE BRIAND, THE NEW FRENCH PREMIER



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THE EARL OF DERBY

(who, by request of Lord Kitchener, has undertaken the direction of recruiting for the army. Earl Derby served as chief press censor in South Africa during the Boer war and later as private Secretary to Lord Roberts)

bers. But the Derby methods, which are to be tried until December 11, seem to be successful, and it is not likely that conscription will be adopted. Steps were taken, late in November, to stop the emigration of men of military age, some of whom were thought to be leaving the country for the United States in order to avoid army service. In later pages we are publishing a number of reproductions of the highly colored posters that are to be found all over England, urging enlistment and subscription to government loans.

*Miss Cavell's
Execution*

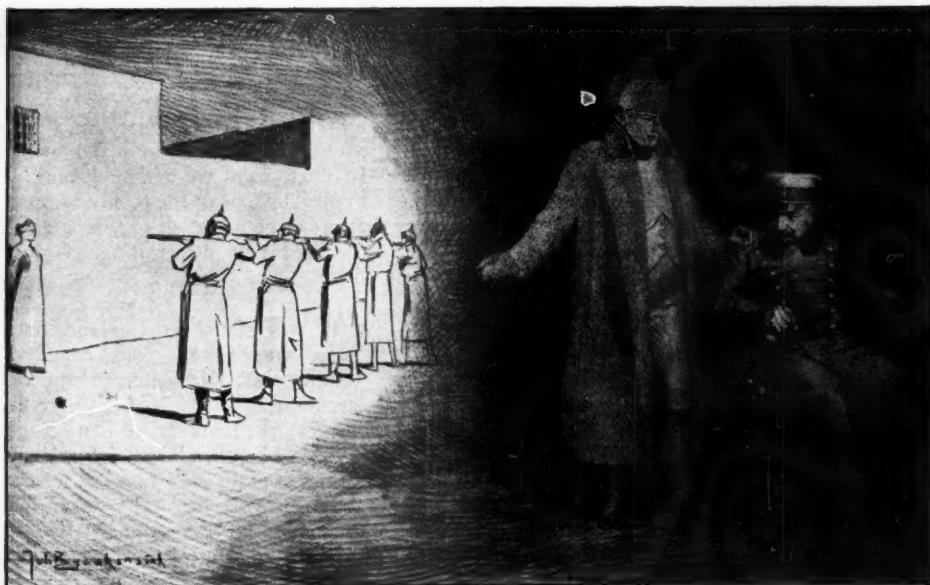
It was stated in England that no single event had done so much to stimulate enlistment as the execution by the German military authorities in Brussels of an English nurse, Miss Edith Cavell. She had lived for some years in Brussels, where she conducted a private hospital. After the German occupation of the Belgian capital, Miss Cavell remained, using her institution for the nursing of wounded soldiers, including Germans. Under like circumstances a German woman would not have been permitted to remain at the head of a hospital in territory under English jurisdiction. Miss

Cavell was under obligation to confine her capacity as a nurse, and had betrayed that self strictly to professional duties. It had confidence. She was held as spy and traitor. been repeatedly intimidated by the German authorities that as an English woman she might better cross the line into the neutral territory of Holland. But she had declared that as long as there were wounded to care for she was determined to remain at her post. At length, she was accused of being the center of a conspiracy for smuggling English, French, and Belgian soldiers across the lines, and otherwise serving the enemies of Germany. From the standpoint of the Germans, her conduct was more reprehensible than that of an ordinary spy, because she had appealed to German confidence in her ca-



THE LATE EDITH CAVELL

From the English standpoint, naturally, she was a martyr. The French Government had executed German women accused of espionage under circumstances that, the Germans declared, made their offenses less serious than were Miss Cavell's. As was his duty, Mr. Whitlock took an interest in the case, and asked clemency in the matter of the sentence. But there was no question raised by him as to the fairness of the trial or the technical legality of the sentence under military rules. Miss Cavell herself admitted the facts, and



GHOST OF NAPOLEON (TO KAISER WILHELM): "I CONDOLE WITH YOU! SUCH DEEDS, I KNOW BY EXPERIENCE, BRING BAD LUCK"

From *De Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam)

(In 1804, on flimsy pretexts of treasonable activity, Napoleon caused the court-martial and execution of the distinguished young Duc d'Enghien, the only survivor of the princely house of Condé. All Europe was shocked by Napoleon's ruthless exercise of power in his own personal interest)

was prepared to die for her country. In time of war it becomes of importance that men and women who belong to the Red Cross service, or to the professions of medicine and nursing in any capacity, should abstain from violating the confidence that is reposed in them. Nurses must practise their calling in good faith, and not attempt under cover of their profession to render secret service to the enemy of those who have reposed trust in their professional honor. The execution of a woman spy is hateful to all people of fine sentiment; but it is expressly required under the rules of war that both sexes be treated alike in such cases. The incident does not seem to have had quite accurate treatment in the English and American press. It would have been quite sufficient to make Miss Cavell's sentence that of mere expulsion from the country. That she was a woman of sincere and noble character is fully admitted by her executioners. The Kaiser remitted the death sentence of eight others implicated with her.

*China's
Government*

Although Great Britain and Russia had joined with Japan in advising China to postpone the reestablishment of the monarchy, it was announced at Peking early last month that most of the provinces had voted for a restoration of the old form of government, with President Yuan Shih-Kai as Emperor, in spite of the fact that the President's declaration against such action and in favor of a continuation of the republic had been widely published. He has declared that his personal conviction that a republic is China's best protection against foes within and without remains unchanged. Impartial students of the Chinese situation have not hesitated to express the opinion that popular government, as we understand it in America and Great Britain, is at present out of the question in China. Such observers believe that whatever attempt is made in that direction must in fact be conducted very largely in the spirit, if not in the form, of monarchy. After all, the formal structure is of secondary importance if the people are being schooled in the principles and practise of self-government. Last month there were persistent rumors that England, France, and Russia had proposed to China an alliance, believed to be chiefly for the purpose of forestalling a break between China and Japan. America is keenly interested in all that concerns China, but will not be a party to alliances for regulating Chinese affairs.

*Our New
Industrial
Activity*

Stimulated by amazingly bountiful harvests, by a plentiful supply of money, and by Europe's enormous demand for our food products and munitions, the United States has rushed into a new period of industrial activity. Following the excellent crops of last year, the 1915 yield of wheat is estimated in the latest report at over one billion bushels, very much the largest in the history of the country. The five-year average is only 686,000,000 bushels. One billion bushels means that the United States has produced this year one-fourth of the entire world's yield of wheat. The latest estimate of the yield of corn is 3,090,000,000 bushels, and at current prices it is the most valuable corn crop ever grown. The crop of oats also made a record, both in quantity and value. In spite of the demand for moving these great farm crops, in spite also of the activity and great volume of trading in securities on the exchanges of the country, the money supplies of the banks are most ample, and loans payable on call have continued through all the summer and autumn months to be quoted at interest rates more often below 2 per cent. per annum than above it,—a phenomenon generally seen only in periods of deadly dull trade depression.

*An Unheard
of Export
Balance*

The third principal factor in bringing so suddenly a whirl of industrial activity, where for two years or more there was depression and stagnation, is the abnormal demand of the warring countries of Europe for the wheat, packing-house products, clothing, chemicals, horses, and war-munitions that are being shipped across the Atlantic from America. In the last fiscal year this abnormal demand brought it about that our exports exceeded imports by over one billion dollars. The current movements of export and import trade make it probable that this year's excess of exports over imports will result in a favorable trade balance for this country of \$1,500,000,000. So feverish is the activity in this export business and so greatly in excess of facilities is the bulk of goods offered for shipment to Europe, that serious congestion is now seen at the eastern ports of the United States. One important railroad has been forced to declare an embargo on export goods for two weeks in order to catch up with its operating obligations. There is a notable scarcity of ships to carry the merchandise and animals which our manufacturers and farmers have sold abroad.

Steel at a Premium

The vast quantities of munitions of war now being sent in a steady stream across the Atlantic have made such a sudden demand on the metal supplies, especially steel and copper, that the market prices of these commodities are constantly advancing and the present problem of manufacturers seems to be to obtain material rather than orders. The United States Steel Corporation reports monthly the amount of its unfilled orders. The last report, as of October 31, shows unfilled orders amounting to 6,165,000 tons, a gain of 847,800 tons for the month, and totals 2,700,000 tons greater than the year before, being larger than for any month since May, 1913. With railroads, ship builders, constructors, and warring nations besieging the mills for material, prices are showing more irregularity than ever before.

Dangers of the Situation

Shrewd observers of the present industrial situation in the United States are impressed with certain dangers attending it. The rush and fury of the sudden turn from trade stagnation to feverish prosperity has tended somewhat to upset our industrial balance. A metal-working town in Connecticut or Pennsylvania has to-day some of the aspects of a western mining town in its boom time. It is to be noted, too, that whereas the balance of trade in our favor has for the first time passed the billion-dollar mark, this was brought about by a greatly inflated export trade in articles the demand for which will end with the war. It is noteworthy that out of this trade balance of a billion dollars, more than \$700,000,000 was excess of export of "contraband" merchandise over that of normal years. The result of this analysis of our present somewhat fictitious prosperity is the conclusion that America must strip for action to meet industrial conditions after the war, because America is now producing very much more than our home markets require. Especially we need our own ships to take this surplus to foreign markets.

How Europe Is Paying Us

With the trade balance last year in favor of the United States of one billion dollars,—and this year perhaps a billion and a half dollars,—Europe is put to it to settle her bills for the excess of goods bought from us over goods sold to us. One device was the popular loan of a half billion dollars floated in the United States in October. Over and above this, Great Britain is now obtaining

supplementary credits in the United States, dealing with a committee of American bankers at the head of a syndicate. In November, an initial credit of \$50,000,000 was granted, and further arrangements may bring the total amount to between \$200,000,000 and \$300,000,000. This is a purely banking transaction and necessitates no sale of securities, the credit being largely based upon acceptances drawn on American banks by the London institutions. The third method of settling Europe's debt to us is in the selling back to us of American securities held abroad. This re-purchase of foreign-held stocks and bonds has somewhat slackened now; the total is estimated at from half a billion to one billion dollars.

Better Times for the Railroads

As has been said in a preceding paragraph, many railroads, especially in the eastern part of the United States, have now all the business they can handle, resulting from the export trade and the current industrial activity. Others like the Great Northern in the Northwest are reporting record gross earnings resulting from the large crop business and heavy ore shipments. The more southern transcontinental lines are doing well, too, with the help of the Panama-Pacific Exposition traffic and the temporary removal of competition by the Panama Canal. The railroads maintain that the congestion now seen, especially in export business, is partly the result of starving them through the governmental regulation of rates, which enforced economies and prevented development of terminal facilities and the adequate purchase of cars. Within the last month they have been buying cars at a rate not seen before for years. It is estimated that orders for thirty-six million dollars worth of new equipment have recently been placed. In the effort of the Western roads to obtain an advance in rates, there was a setback when on November 10 the Commerce Commission denied the carriers' request for a re-opening of their case. The denial was tempered, however, by the Commission's announcement that it would undertake on its own initiative an investigation of the rates, rules, and regulations for shipments of live stock, fresh meats and packing-house products in Western territory. These were the most important items in the original petition of the Western roads for rate advances. If that petition had been granted, these particular items would have increased the revenues of the roads by some \$3,000,000.

*San Francisco's
Notable
Triumph*

One of the very last of the many international conventions and congresses held at San Francisco in association with the Panama-Pacific Exposition was a congress of women which was presided over by Lady Aberdeen. In no year of our history, perhaps, have the organized activities of women had so prominent a place in the attention of the world, even in countries engrossed in war. The Exposition itself will close its gates on December 4, as originally provided. It has been successful from all standpoints, in a surprising measure. It required a high order of courage to go on with it when the outbreak of war was evidently destined to limit its international character. But its existence and activities have constantly served to remind the nations of the permanent value of our civilization. It has held aloft the banners of industry, applied science, education, art, and humanitarianism. Furthermore it has been a great boon to the people of the United States. In a year when the usual movement of travel to Europe was impossible, the exposition offered a specific inducement to people east of the



LADY ABERDEEN (IN CENTER) AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE WOMEN'S CONGRESS AT SAN FRANCISCO LAST MONTH



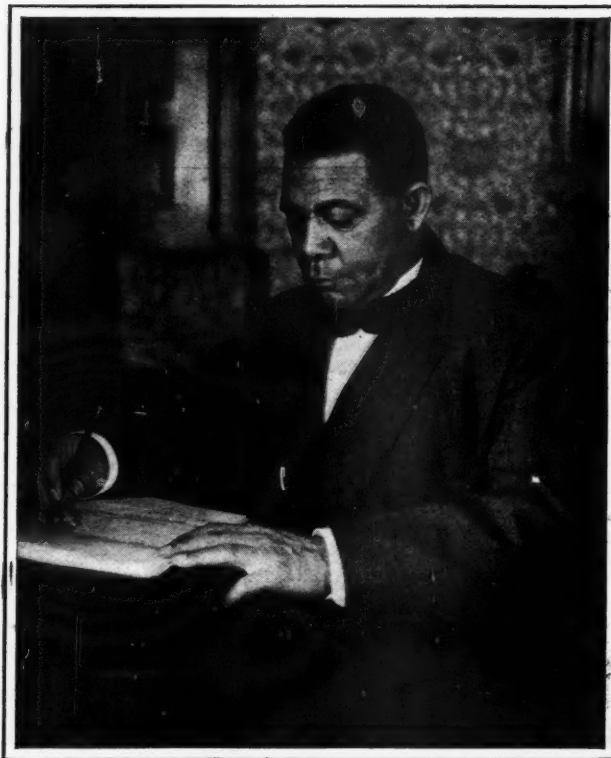
© Atn. Press Ass'n

J. D. ROCKEFELLER, SR. J. D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.
TWO MEN WHOSE WISE EFFORTS AND GREAT RESOURCES HAVE RENDERED EXCEPTIONAL SERVICE TO HUMANITY IN 1915

Mississippi to cross the country and become better acquainted with American resources and life. The leading spirits of the exposition are to be congratulated, as are the city of San Francisco and the State of California. All who visited San Francisco also saw other parts of the Pacific Coast, many of them visiting the exquisite exposition at San Diego.

*Humane
Effort, by
System*

Whether one likes the phrase "religion of humanity" or not, we have had during the past year many evidences of a great passion for human welfare that helps us the more clearly to see that the war itself is fundamentally an accident of political disorganization, rather than an expression of human nature. We have in different countries a score of labor leaders capable of managing large groups of men, a number of industrial and financial managers, and still others trained in the conduct of extensive undertakings. Such leaders could easily have organized the affairs of the nations in such a way as to have made war obsolete and ridiculous. When the conflict is past there will survive some of the admirable voluntary agencies that have of late been trying to serve humanity. Conspicuous among these is the Red Cross Society, which in America is asking for a large endowment looking to its future work. We are glad to publish in this number of the REVIEW an



© Underwood & Underwood, New York

THE LATE BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT OF TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

article on Belgian conditions and relief, written by so trustworthy a witness as Mr. Bicknell, national director of the American Red Cross Society. Mr. Bicknell went abroad with Dr. Wickliffe Rose, of the Rockefeller Foundation, to represent unified American efforts for succor in Belgium, Serbia, and elsewhere. Looking back over the great efforts of the past year for human welfare at home and abroad, a great tribute is due to Mr. John D. Rockefeller and his son, for the intelligent and almost unstinted generosity that has been displayed through the "Foundations" and endowments that they have created.

Some
Praiseworthy
Agencies

The Rockefeller Foundation, the General Education Board, the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, are all so organized as to help many causes and institutions in vital ways without displacing or disturbing the efforts of any other useful agencies. It would take many pages to explain in a condensed way how widespread and fruitful these Rockefeller activities have been. The boards and

coordinated effort in relief and charity, little or nothing could have been done in this period of emergency. The "Foundations" are vindicated.

Booker
Washington

There must of course be human devotion and leadership, as well as system, and material resources. The late Booker Washington was an instance of personal leadership. He accomplished great results, but this was largely because his ability and zeal were recognized by those who employ system and control resources. As a humble negro boy, he obtained his education at the Hampton Institute. He was impelled to strive to build up a great agricultural and industrial school for negroes in the "Black Belt." Circumstances took him as a young teacher, in 1881, to Tuskegee, Ala. Beginning with almost nothing, he left behind him when he died at Tuskegee last month an educational establishment that was famous the world over. Its facilities and resources were hardly equaled by any other institution in the entire South. He was an eloquent and wise leader of his own race, and a great citizen of the United States.

organizations that have been endowed by Mr. Carnegie have also rendered noble and appropriate service. The Sage Foundation is useful to the full extent of its resources. There are many smaller funds and endowments devoted to educational and philanthropic service that are, in their own fields, doing much for the honor and credit of America. Christmas this year must mean altruism and the systematic relief of the unfortunate as at no previous time. There has been a tendency among the ill-informed to sneer at organized charity and at "societies" for philanthropic ends. Now, with the needs and the facts of 1914 and 1915 in memory, there will be fewer criticisms of that careless kind. But for the organization of such societies as the Red Cross; but for the resources and directive talent of the Rockefeller Foundation; but for the use of system and asso-

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From October 20 to November 19, 1915)

The Last Part of October

October 20.—It is officially announced at London that, from the beginning of the war to October 14, German submarines sank 183 British merchant ships and 175 fishing vessels.

In the South African elections, Premier Botha and the Unionists receive a majority in the House of Assembly, the Opposition having declared against further participation in the war.

Czernowitz, capital of Bukowina (Austria), is evacuated by Austro-German forces, according to a Rumanian report.

October 21.—It is learned that Great Britain has offered to cede to Greece immediately the island of Cyprus, if Greece will enter the war on the side of the Allies.

It becomes known that Edith Cavell, an English nurse (principal of a medical institute in Brussels), was shot on October 12 after conviction by German military authorities of assisting enemies of Germany to escape from Belgium; appeals for leniency by the American and Spanish Ministers were ignored.

The Egean coast of Bulgaria is bombarded by French, British, and Russian warships.

The Italian armies begin a general attack along the whole Austrian front, particularly in the coastal region.

October 22.—Russian reports of attacks on German positions in the center and south (particularly in eastern Galicia) state that 15,000 Austrian and German prisoners were captured.

October 23.—It is announced that French troops landed at Salonica, Greece, have crossed the frontier and effected a junction with the Serbian army.

October 24.—United States Secret Service officials arrest Robert Fay, who afterwards declares that he is a lieutenant in the German army and that he came to the United States to destroy with bombs merchant vessels of the Allies and to wreck American ammunition plants.

The German cruiser, *Prince Adalbert*, is sunk by a British submarine near Libau, Russia.

A British submarine sinks the Turkish transport *Carmen*, laden with munitions, in the Sea of Marmora.

The Bulgarian army captures Uskub, an important city in central Serbia.

Austrian aeroplanes drop bombs upon Venice, damaging a church and destroying the best example of the fresco work of the artist Tiepolo; the Austrian version of the occurrence declares it to be in retaliation for bombs dropped on the town of Trieste.

October 25.—King George and President Poincaré review the British troops at the front.

October 26.—Reports of the campaign in Serbia indicate that the German invasion has progressed fifty miles southward along the principal railroad, and that the Bulgarians command the line for a hundred miles between Vranja and Uskub.

The British Foreign Secretary informs the House of Commons that the offer of Cyprus to Greece has lapsed.

The British Admiralty announces that the transport *Marquette* has been torpedoed in the Egean Sea, nearly 100 lives being lost.

October 27.—The invading Austro-German and Bulgarian armies meet in northeastern Serbia.

The Russian fleet (according to a Rumanian report) bombards the Bulgarian Black Sea port of Varna.

October 28.—The Viviani coalition ministry in France, formed shortly after the outbreak of war, resigns; Minister of Justice Aristide Briand (Socialist and ex-Premier) accepts President Poincaré's invitation to form a new cabinet, and selects General Gallieni for the Ministry of War.

King George of England is severely injured by being thrown from his horse during an inspection of British troops in France.

The Italian War Office declares that more than 5000 Austrian prisoners were taken during the operations of the preceding week on the Isonzo front.

October 29.—An official statement of British casualties (to October 9) shows a total of 101,652 killed, 317,415 wounded, and 74,177 missing.

The State Department at Washington receives a second note from Austria-Hungary, relative to the shipment of arms and munitions to the enemies of Austria and Germany; the note is a rejoinder to the American answer of August 16.

October 30.—United States naval experts decide that a fragment of metal alleged to have been found on the *Hesperian* (destroyed on September 4) was a part of a torpedo.

October 30-31.—German attacks in the Champagne, described in the French reports as extremely ferocious, are partly successful.

October 31.—A Turkish official statement declares that the French submarine *Turquoise* has been sunk by artillery fire.

The First Week of November

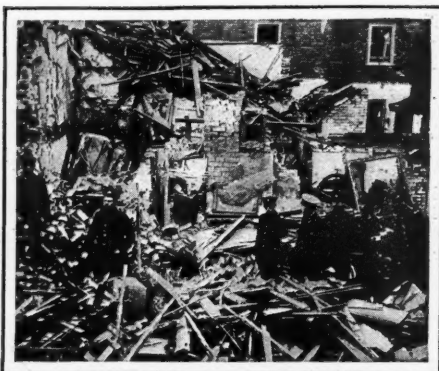
November 1.—German troops capture Kragujevatz, the principal Serbian arsenal.

November 2.—Premier Asquith reviews in the House of Commons the British military, naval, diplomatic, and financial situations, with particular reference to the setbacks at the Dardanelles and in the Balkans.

Sickness among the British troops on the Gallipoli Peninsula, the House of Commons is informed, has required the removal of 78,000 officers and men.

November 3.—The French Chamber of Deputies declares confidence in the Briand ministry by vote of 515 to 1, after hearing the Premier's declaration of policy.

November 4.—The cabinet of Premier Zaimis in Greece is forced to resign after a dispute



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York
EFFECT OF A BOMB DROPPED ON A LONDON HOUSE
FROM A ZEPPELIN AIRSHIP

with ex-Premier Venizelos, who controls a majority in the Chamber of Deputies.

November 5.—The British Admiralty makes known the fact that the British transport *Ramazan* was sunk in the Egean Sea by a submarine on September 19, with a loss of 315 Indian troops.

The British submarine *E 20* is sunk by the Turks while operating in the Dardanelles.

November 6.—Nish, the chief railway center of Serbia, is captured by Bulgarian forces.

It is learned that Earl Kitchener, Secretary of War in Great Britain, has gone to the south-eastern theater of war.

A Russian official communication declares that 8500 Austro-German prisoners were taken as a result of a surprise attack on the Stripa River, in eastern Galicia.

The Second Week of November

November 7.—A note from the United States to Great Britain, protesting against British interference on the sea with American trade, is made public at Washington; the note declares that the British blockade measures cannot be recognized as legal, and that the United States will not with complacency suffer further subordination of its rights.

Stephanos Skouloudis accepts the premiership in Greece, retaining the members of the Zaimis cabinet.

The small German cruiser *Undine* is sunk by a submarine (presumably British) off the south coast of Sweden.

November 9.—The Italian passenger steamer *Ancona*, bound for New York, is sunk in the Mediterranean by a submarine flying the Austrian flag; more than a hundred passengers are killed, including several Americans.

The French expedition in southern Serbia meets and engages a Bulgarian invading army, in the region around Veles.

November 10.—Premier Asquith, in asking the House of Commons for an additional vote of credit amounting to \$2,000,000,000, declares that the war is costing Great Britain \$21,750,000 a day.

November 10-11.—Four large American plants

extensively engaged in the manufacture of war munitions for the Allies are seriously damaged by fires believed to have been of incendiary origin.

November 11.—Lord Derby, Director-General of Recruiting in Great Britain, announces that the Government will adopt compulsory measures if sufficient numbers of young, unmarried men do not come forward voluntarily before November 30.

Premier Asquith announces the creation of a War Council composed of five members of the cabinet: the Prime Minister, First Lord of the Admiralty, Colonial Secretary, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Minister of Munitions; the Minister of War is not included, because of absence.

November 12.—King Constantine dissolves the Greek parliament; new elections are to be held December 19.

Both German and Russian reports indicate that the offensive along the greater part of the eastern front has passed from the Germans to the Russians, apparently the Germans have abandoned, temporarily at least, their efforts to reach Riga and Dvinsk.

The Italian passenger steamer *Firenze* is sunk off the Egyptian coast by a submarine flying the Austrian flag; most of the passengers and crew are saved.

The Third Week of November

November 14.—The Italian Government declares that the *Ancona* was cannonaded by a submarine without warning, and that the work of abandoning the ship was interfered with. . . . The Austrian Government declares that the vessel attempted to escape after warning had been given, and that an hour and a half elapsed before it actually sank.

Three Austrian aviators drop bombs on Verona, Italy, killing sixty persons.

November 15.—Two Austrian aviators bombard Brescia, Italy, killing seven persons.

The German War Office reports the capture of 8500 Serbians, mostly by the Bulgarian army. British forces on the Gallipoli Peninsula carry 280 yards of Turkish trenches in Krithia ravine.

November 17.—A council of British and French officials is held at Paris; the British Premier and three of the leading members of his cabinet confer with the French Premier and the chiefs of the army and navy of France.

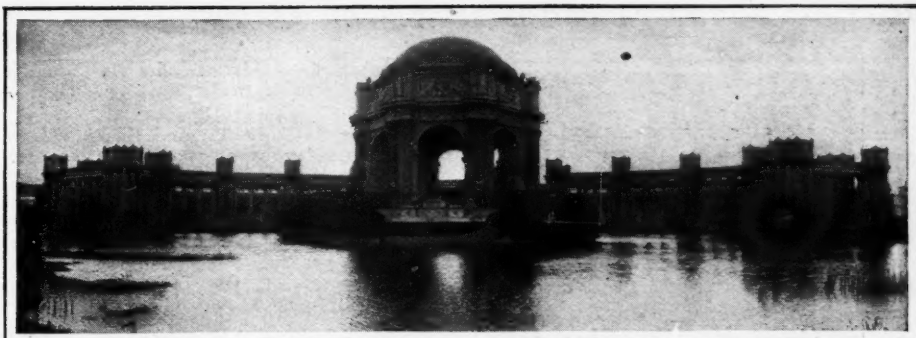
The Bulgarian invading army occupies Priep, in southern Serbia.

The British hospital ship *Anglia* is sunk by a mine in the English Channel; nearly a hundred wounded soldiers are drowned.

The Chancellor of the British Exchequer states that Great Britain has made or promised war loans to other countries totaling \$2,375,000,000.

November 18.—It is intimated in the House of Lords that the new British commander on the Gallipoli Peninsula, Gen. Sir Charles Monro, favors the abandonment of the undertaking to force the Dardanelles.

November 19.—It is estimated that four-fifths of Serbia is occupied by the invading Austro-German and Bulgarian armies.



© Panama-Pacific International Exposition

THE PALACE OF FINE ARTS, AT THE SAN FRANCISCO EXHIBITION

(This structure has been universally acclaimed the most beautiful of the exposition buildings. Plans are under way to preserve its usefulness, after the fair closes on December 4, as a permanent art museum. The Palace is built in the form of an arc, with a double row of Corinthian columns and a domed rotunda 165 feet high. The photograph was taken from the opposite side of a forest-bordered lagoon, and shows the structure in relationship with the surrounding landscape)

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From October 20 to November 19, 1915)

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

October 23.—More than 25,000 women parade in New York City as a demonstration for woman suffrage, to be voted upon at the coming State election.

October 26.—The voters of California reject the proposition to eliminate party names from the ballot in all except national elections.

November 1.—The Arizona anti-alien law, which provided that 80 per cent. of the employees of any concern must be of American nationality, is declared unconstitutional in the United States Supreme Court.

November 2.—Elections are held in eight States.

The following Governors are chosen:

Kentucky, Augustus O. Stanley (Dem.)
Maryland, Emerson C. Harrington (Dem.)
Massachusetts, Samuel W. McCall (Rep.)
Mississippi, Theodore G. Bilbo (Dem.)

Woman suffrage amendments are rejected in three States, as follows:

	For	Against
Massachusetts	163,500	295,500
New York	515,000	710,000
Pennsylvania	356,000	400,000

A Statewide prohibition amendment is rejected in Ohio, by a majority of 35,000.

The proposed revision of the State constitution is rejected by the voters of New York, by a majority of 470,000.

Five Representatives in Congress are elected to fill vacancies; in the Twenty-third New York District, previously Democratic, the election of William S. Bennet (Rep.) reduces the Democratic majority in the House to twenty-five.

In New York and New Jersey, the Republicans retain majorities in the State legislatures.

The Philadelphia municipal election results in the defeat of the "reform" candidate by Thomas B. Smith (Rep.), by a plurality of 80,000.

The city of Buffalo elects four non-partisan commissioners, under the new charter (see page 731).

November 4.—President Wilson, addressing the Manhattan Club (Democratic) in New York City, outlines his program of preparedness for national defense.

November 5.—Secretary Garrison makes public the details of his plan for increasing the army, approved by the President; he would raise the standing army from 108,000 to 141,000, and create a new citizen army of 400,000, partly trained.

November 11.—It is stated at the White House that President Wilson has invited Republican leaders in Congress to confer with him regarding the program for defense.

November 18.—Supreme Court Justice Hughes requests that his name be withdrawn from the list of Republican Presidential candidates in the Nebraska primary (April, 1916).

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

October 26.—Premier Zahle, of Denmark, declares that the woman-suffrage clause of the new constitution will become effective in time for the general elections scheduled for July, 1916.

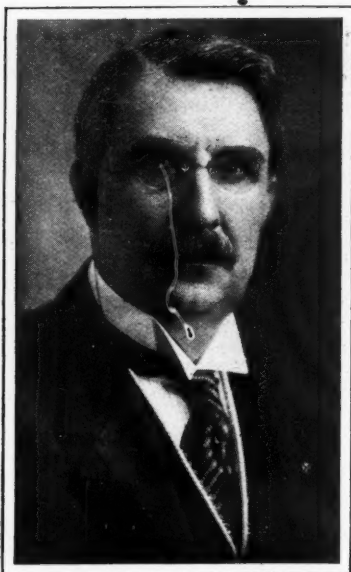
November 3.—Dispatches from China indicate that most of the provinces have voted unanimously in favor of restoring the monarchical form of government, with President Yuan Shih-kai as Emperor. . . . After an engagement lasting several days, General Villa abandons his attack on the Carranza forces at Agua Prieta (near Douglas, Ariz.).

November 9.—It is officially announced that there will be no change this year in the form of China's government.

November 10.—The Japanese Emperor, Yoshihito, is formally crowned at Kioto, with simple but impressive ceremonies.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

October 20.—The United States declares an embargo on the exportation of arms to Mexico, except to territory controlled by the Carranza forces.



HON. STUART F. REED, OF WEST VIRGINIA

(There are many evidences of the vitality and growth of the movement for uniform consideration, in and by the various States, of questions of national scope. Much good may come from the recently organized Association of American Secretaries of State, which elected Mr. Reed president at its first convention, held at Cincinnati late in October. The Association will first work for uniform corporation laws and license regulations, and for a general spirit of cooperation among States)

October 21.—Three United States soldiers are killed by Mexicans in an attack upon their outpost near Mission, Texas; five of the Mexicans are killed.

October 25.—The State Department at Washington is advised of the appointment of Dr. Vi Kyuin Wellington Koo as Chinese Minister to the United States, succeeding Minister Kat Fu Shah.

October 29.—The Japanese Foreign Office announces that Japan has advised China, in cooperation with European powers [Great Britain and Russia], to postpone the reestablishment of a monarchical form of government.

October 30.—It is officially stated at Peking that France and the United States refused to join in the Japanese representations to China.

November 1.—China rejects the proposals of Japan, Great Britain, and Russia for postponement of the decision regarding the future form of government, on the ground that the question is entirely in the hands of the people.

November 12.—The Haitian Senate ratifies the treaty providing for American oversight of financial affairs and the constabulary.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

October 27.—A new American aeroplane record is established by Oscar A. Brindley, who flies 554 miles along the California coast within ten hours.

October 28.—Fire destroys a parochial school at Peabody, Mass., and causes the death of 21 girls; the building was without fire-escapes.

November 6.—A factory fire in Brooklyn causes the death of twelve employees, eight of them women.

November 7.—Forty thousand men parade in Chicago, as a demonstration against the enforcement of the law closing saloons on Sunday.

November 10.—A tornado sweeping over parts of Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, and South Dakota wrecks many buildings and causes the death of at least ten persons.

November 12.—The Nobel Prize for physics is awarded to Thomas A. Edison and Nikola Tesla; the 1914 prize for chemistry is awarded to Prof. Theodore William Richards, of Harvard University.

OBITUARY

October 21.—Amos F. Eno, extensive holder of real estate in New York City, 81.

October 22.—Sir Andrew Noble, a British authority on artillery and explosives, 84. . . . W. G. Grace, the noted English cricketer, 67.

October 23.—Thomas Waldo Story, a distinguished American sculptor, 60.

October 24.—Arthur T. Lyman, a prominent Massachusetts cotton manufacturer, 83.

October 25.—Paul Ernest Hervieu, the noted French dramatist, 58. . . . Rear-Admiral Henry Manney, U.S.N., retired, 71. . . . Baron von Wangenheim, German Ambassador to Turkey.

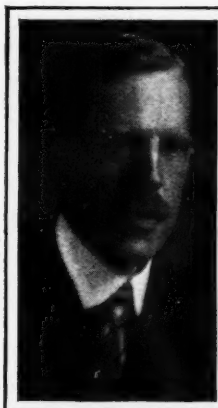
October 26.—Sylvester Clark Dunham, president of the Travelers Insurance Company, 69. . . . Charles E. Granger, former Chief Justice of the Iowa Supreme Court, 80.



© American Press Association, New York

THE NEW CHINESE MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES, DR. V. K. WELLINGTON KOO

(Even during his student days at Columbia University, Dr. Koo attracted wide attention in this country as well as his own. Soon after his graduation he was brought back to China as a special adviser of President Yuan Shih-kai. His appointment to the Washington post, which just now the Chinese Government considers one of the highest importance, is a remarkable tribute to a man only thirty years old)



F. A. MCKENZIE
(Fisk University)



J. H. MAC CRACKEN
(Lafayette College)



H. N. MAC CRACKEN
(Vassar College)



© F. Davy
RAY L. WILBUR
(Stanford University)

FOUR NEW COLLEGE PRESIDENTS

(Dr. McKenzie was last month inaugurated president of Fisk University, at Nashville, an institution devoted to the higher training of negroes. The new presidents of Lafayette College, at Easton, Pa., and Vassar College, are sons of Dr. Henry M. MacCracken, who was for twenty years Chancellor of New York University. Dr. Wilbur has been dean of the Medical School of Leland Stanford University, and will become president of that institution on January 1)

October 27.—Frank West Rollins, ex-Governor of New Hampshire, 55. . . . Col. John C. Moore, a pioneer Western newspaper editor and first Mayor of Denver, 84.

October 28.—Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, former Governor of South Australia and prominent anti-slavery advocate, 78. . . . Warwick Hough, former Chief Justice of the Missouri Supreme Court, 79.

October 29.—John Wolcott Stewart, former Governor of Vermont and ex-Congressman, 89. . . . Reginald Earle Welby, Baron Welby, a prominent English financier, 83.

October 30.—Sir Charles Tupper, the famous Canadian statesman, 94.

October 31.—Blanche Walsh, the actress, 42.

November 1.—Herman Ridder, editor of the *Staats-Zeitung*, the widely known German newspaper of New York, 64. . . . Col. Edward L. Prentiss, publisher of the *St. Louis Times* and the German newspaper *Westliche Post*, 49. . . . Sir Arthur Rucker, the English scientist and educator, 67. . . . Lewis Waller, the English actor-manager, 65.

November 2.—Isaac Leopold Rice, a New York financier and promoter of industrial enterprises, 64. . . . Wirt du Vivier Tassin, assistant curator of the division of mineralogy in the National Museum, 46.

November 3.—Brig.-Gen. George Miller Sternberg, U.S.A., retired, former Surgeon-General of the army, 77. . . . Rear-Adm. Thomas Stowell Phelps, U.S.N., retired, 67. . . . William Wallace Spence, a retired Baltimore banker, prominent in civic work, 100.

November 4.—Sir Robert Laidlaw, of London, president of the World's Sunday School Association, 59.

November 6.—Peter A. Brown Widener, the Philadelphia financier, philanthropist, and art collector, 81. . . . Henry P. Kirby, a prominent New York architect, 61.

November 8.—Brig.-Gen. Walter Howe, U.S.A., retired, 69.

November 9.—Edward Smith Willard, the noted English actor, 62. . . . William Frederick Allen, publisher of railway guides and originator of the standard-time system used throughout the United States, 69. . . . Rev. George Nye Boardman, professor emeritus of systematic theology in the Chicago Theological Seminary, 89.

November 10.—Frederick Warren Dodge, publisher of architectural and building-trade periodicals, 51.

November 11.—FitzGerald Tisdall, for half a century professor of Greek in the College of the City of New York, 75.

November 13.—Brig.-Gen. William Henry Harrison Beadle, a veteran of the Civil War and leader in educational movements in South Dakota, 77.

November 14.—Booker T. Washington, the noted negro educator, 56 (see page 664).

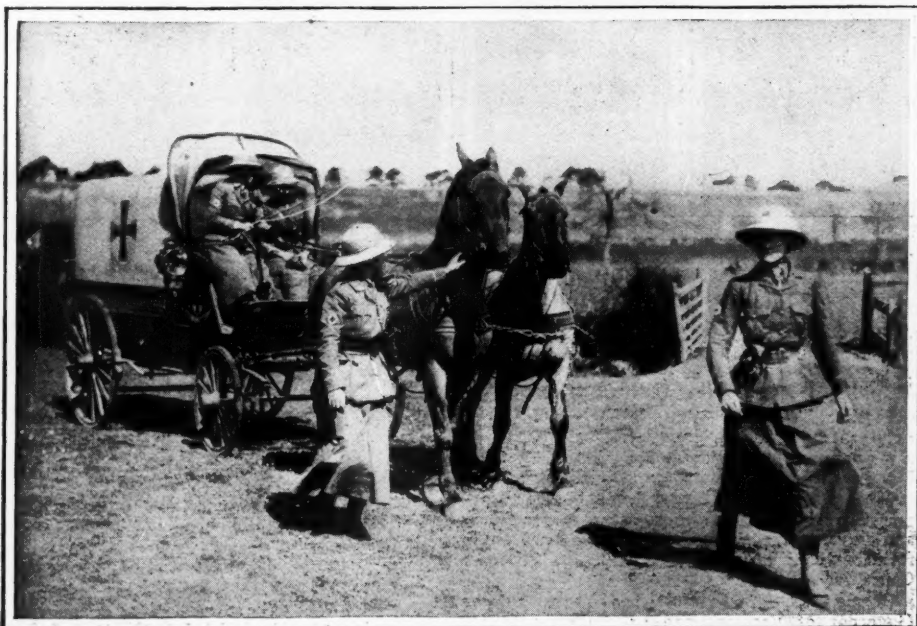
November 15.—Dr. Edward Livingston Trudeau, founder of a famous tuberculosis sanitarium in New York State, 67.

November 16.—Julius Cæsar Burrows, for more than twenty-five years Congressman and United States Senator from Michigan, 78. . . . Dr. Major A. Veeder, who discovered that flies carry typhoid germs, 67. . . . Prof. Raphael Meldola, a distinguished English chemist, 66. . . . Susan E. Dickinson, a noted newspaper correspondent during the Civil War, 82.

November 17.—Theodore Leschetizky, the famous German piano teacher, 85. . . . Charles L. Loop, vice-president of the Southern Express Company and prominent Chattanooga citizen, 75.

November 18.—Rev. Father William H. Reaney, senior chaplain in the United States Navy, 50. . . . Dr. Henry Charlton Bastian, a prominent English neurologist and biologist, 78.

CARING FOR WAR'S WOUNDED AND DISABLED



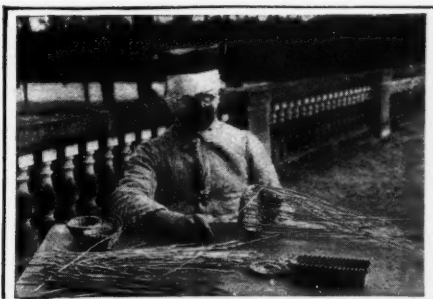
© American Press Association, New York

A CORPS OF ENGLISH RED CROSS NURSES WITH THEIR FIELD OUTFIT AND KHAKE UNIFORMS

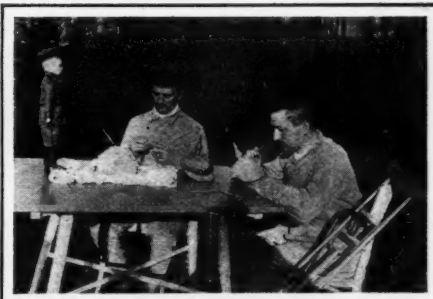


Photograph by Bain News Service

GERMAN RED CROSS MEN, WITH THEIR DOGS, WHO ARE TRAINED TO ASSIST IN THE WORK AND WEAR THE RED CROSS BADGE



BASKET-WEAVING BY A GERMAN SOLDIER WHO HAS
LOST HIS SIGHT

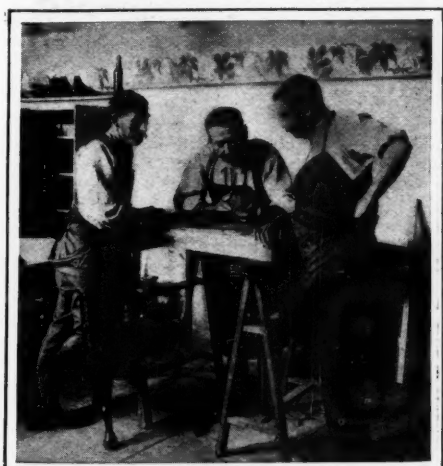


CRIPPLED GERMAN'S MAKING SOLDIER MODELS FOR
THE TOY MANUFACTURERS



©International News Service, New York

FRENCH SOLDIERS PAINTING TOYS, MANY OF WHICH AMERICAN CHILDREN WILL USE



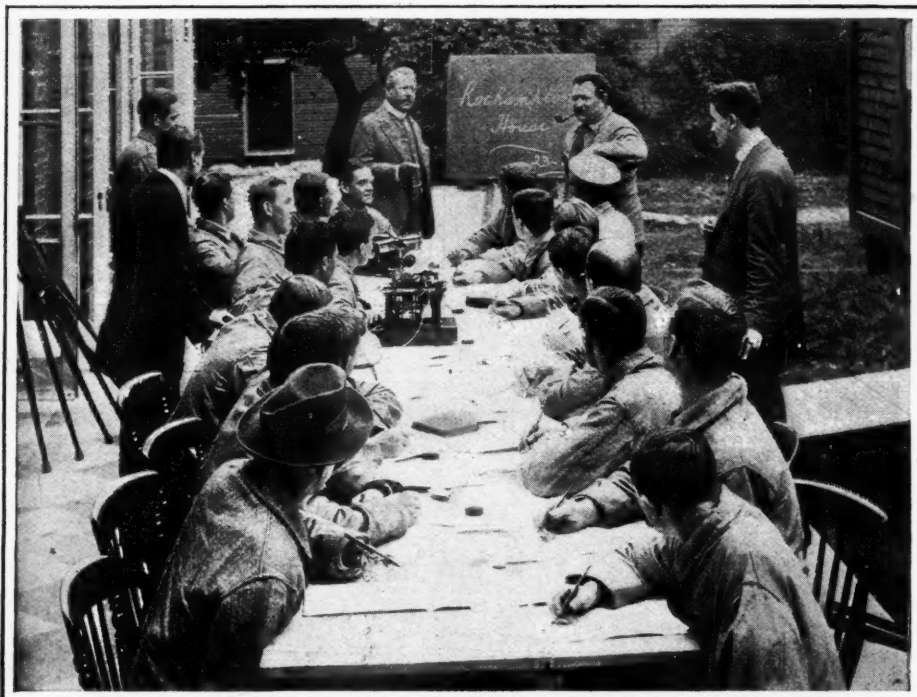
Photograph by Medem Photo Service

DISABLED FRENCHMEN BEING TAUGHT A TRADE



Photograph by Medem Photo Service

TEACHING CARPENTERING TO A BLIND SOLDIER



Photograph by Medem Photo Service

PERMANENTLY DISABLED ENGLISH SOLDIERS BEING TURNED INTO BUSINESS MEN
(A private institution where the crippled men are taught various commercial branches)



ENGAGING IN GARDEN WORK WITH ARTIFICIAL
HANDS



© International News Service, New York

A BRITISH "TOMMY" AS MILLINER

SOME RECENT CARTOONS



© International News Service, New York

MERELY FRIENDLY ANXIETY
From the American (New York)



MAYBE IT IS WRONG TO FIGHT, BUT SUPPOSE THE
OTHER FELLOW DOESN'T THINK SO?

From the News-Press (St. Joseph)

Dec.—3



APROPPOS OF THE PRESIDENT'S NATIONAL DEFENSE
SPEECH AT THE MANHATTAN CLUB IN NEW YORK
MR. BRYAN: "You unchristian bird..."

From the World (New York)

(673)



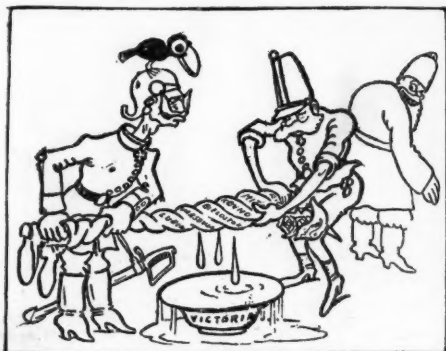
THE GERMAN MOUSE-TRAP IN THE BALKANS
Bulgaria has been caught; will Rumania and Greece also go into the trap?

From *L'Illustrazione* (Milan)



THE ENTENTE IN AMERICA
The search for the "silver bullets" (referring to the loans sought by the Allies in the United States).

From *Der Floh* (Vienna)



POOR GERMAN MICHEL!
The two Emperors, Wilhelm and Franz-Josef, are wringing costly victories out of their poor subjects.

From *L'Esquella de la Torralxa* (Barcelona)



THE HOHENZOLLERN HABIT

KAISER (to his brother-in-law, the King of Greece):
"You see, Tino, you've married into the family, and you ought to do as the family does. When we encounter a little thing like that we—tear it up."

From *Punch* (London)



CHANGING HIS "POINT"

KAISER FOX: "I wonder if there's a way out here."
(The gate to Calais was barred, the path to Petrograd closed; so the German forces are driving toward Constantinople, and have made such progress as to enable Berlin to announce through railroad service from that city to the Turkish capital)

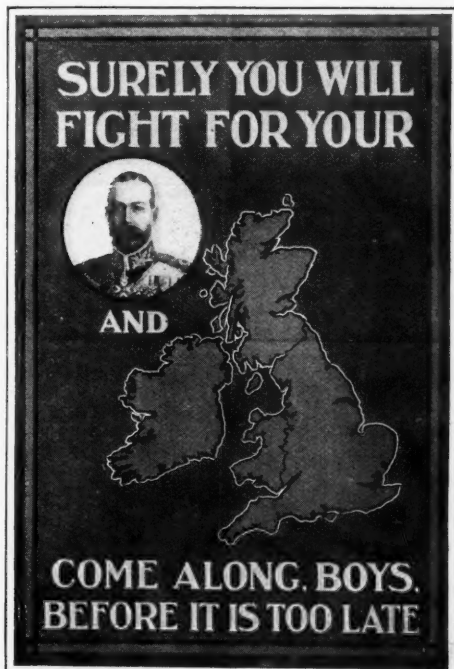
From the *Bystander* (London)



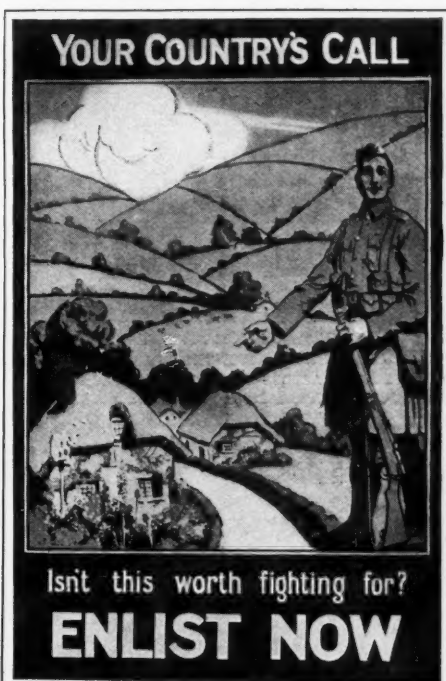
A LINE OF SMILING LADS IN KHAKI COLOR (20 x 6 INCHES)

BRITAIN'S WAR POSTERS

LORD DERBY'S announcement last month that voluntary enlistment might give place to some form of conscription by the end of November, makes pertinently interesting the poster campaign by means of which Great Britain has been mobilizing her military resources, both in men and money. Even in plain black and white, these brilliant post-



STRIKING THE "LOYALTY" NOTE IN RICH RED AND BROWN

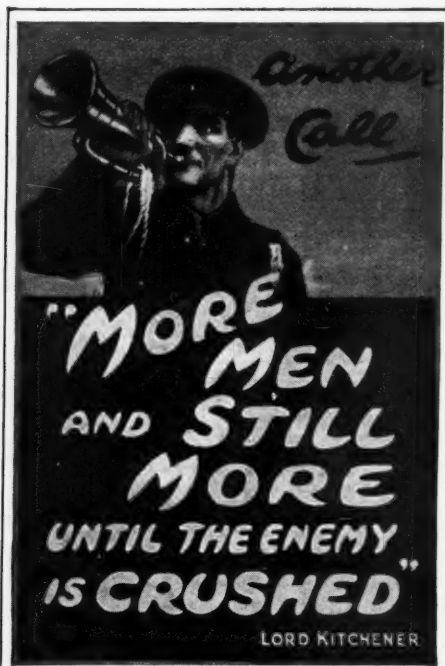


IN THE ORIGINAL OF THIS THERE IS A BLENDING OF MANY BRIGHT LANDSCAPE COLORS

ers retain much of their original force. Printed mostly on 20x30-inch sheets (shaped like the two center cuts on this page), in bright, contrasting colors, and appealing to the citizen from many angles, they present a notable example of official government use of modern commercial advertising methods.



A PITHY SENTENCE IN A RED, WHITE AND BLUE STRIP, 30 x 5 INCHES



ORANGE AND BROWN MAKE EFFECTIVE BACKGROUNDS FOR THIS STRIKING KITCHENER QUOTATION SPREAD BOLDLY ACROSS THE SHEET IN WHITE



THE BOY SCOUT DOING HIS "BIT" ON A POSTER THAT CARRIES A HEAVY RED BORDER



A SOLDIER'S FACE SMILES OUT OF A YELLOW AND WHITE BACKGROUND ON THIS POSTER



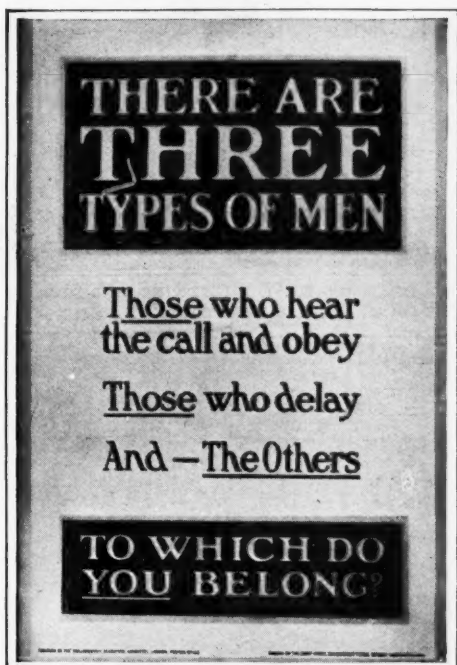
THE STURDY FIGURE IN KHAKI, ON A BLUE AND GRAY BACKGROUND, MAKES A STRONG APPEAL



A GOOD COMBINATION OF ORANGE AND BROWN ON THIS 40 X 50-INCH POSTER



A CALL FROM THE FIRING LINE IN PINK, YELLOW, AND BLUE (40 X 50 INCHES)



A STRONG EFFECT SECURED WITH YELLOW AND BLACK LETTERING ON A WHITE BACKGROUND



ST. GEORGE, ON A GRAY CHARGER, FIGHTING A GREEN DRAGON,—A DASH OF RED BRIGHTENING THE BACKGROUND

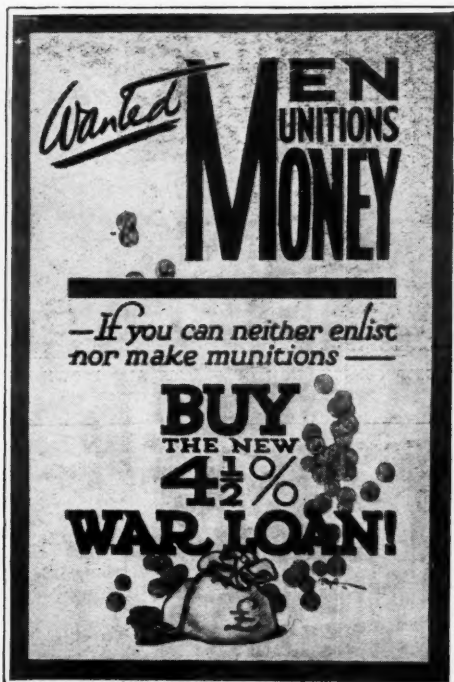


A VARIETY OF COLORS IS USED IN THESE 20 X 30-INCH POSTER APPEALS TO FILL UP THE RANKS IN THE ARMY AND IN THE AMMUNITION FACTORIES IN ENGLAND

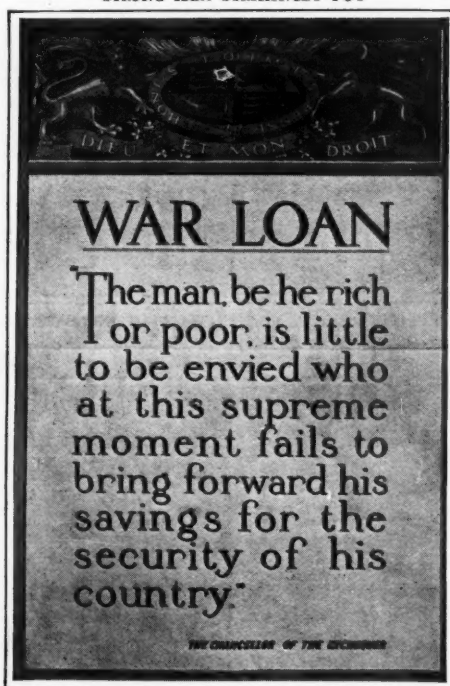




A STEEL-COLORED KEY, ON A YELLOW BACKGROUND, HEAVILY BORDERED IN RED, COMBINE TO MAKE A STRONG IDEA STRIKINGLY PUT



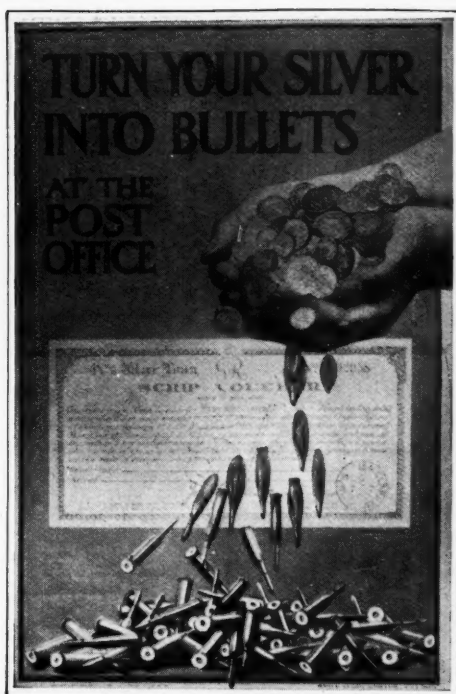
RED AND BLACK FOR THE LETTERING, AND GOLD FOR THE COINS, ARE THE MAIN COLORS IN THIS POSTER



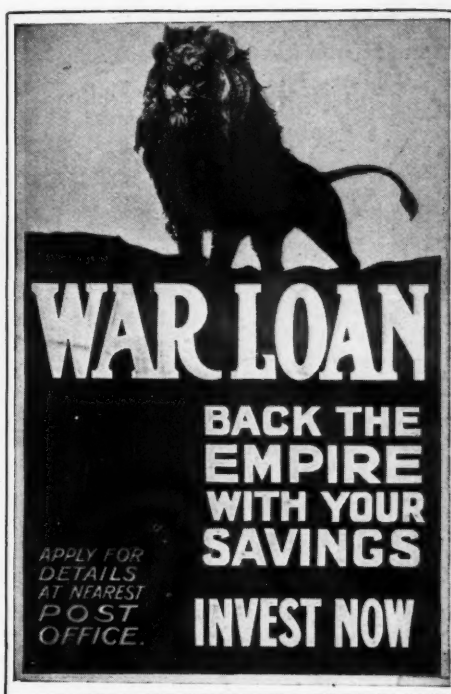
HERE THE ROYAL ARMS IN COLORS HEAD AN APT QUOTATION ON A GRAY BACKGROUND



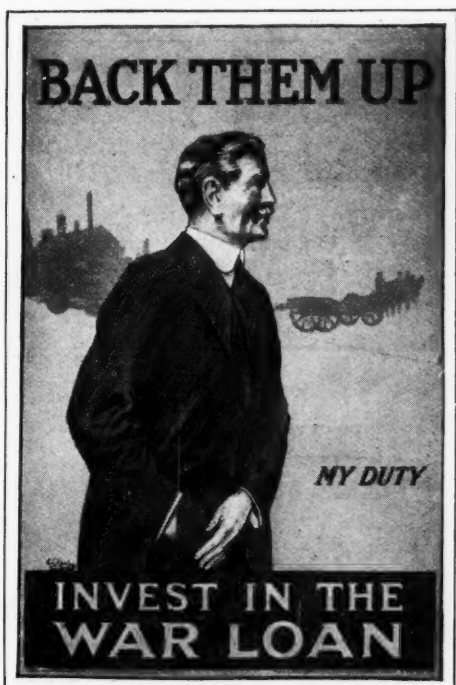
A STRONG APPEAL FOR SMALL AMOUNTS, DONE IN SILVER AND GRAY, WITH BLACK LETTERING



FROM "MONEY TO MUNITIONS," WITH FULL DIRECTIONS, INCLUDING A VOUCHER RECEIPT



THE BRITISH LION HERE MAKES AN EFFECTIVE BLACK FIGURE ON AN OLIVE BACKGROUND



AN APPEAL TO THE CITIZEN'S POCKET,—A BLUE FIGURE ON A YELLOW BACKGROUND



A HANDSOME POSTER FOR THE WOMEN, IN BUFF, BLUE AND LAVENDER, THE LETTERING BROWN

**MOTHERS, WIVES AND
SWEETHEARTS**
Expect You to
PROTECT THEM

You May Do So With the

73RD
**ROYAL HIGHLANDERS
OF CANADA**

JOIN NOW At the ARMOURY
429 Bleury Street
MONTREAL

For Service Overseas
GOD SAVE THE KING

**HEROES OF ST JULIEN
AND FESTUBERT**
*Here's to the Soldier who bled
To the Sailor that bravely did die.
Their fame is alive, though their spirits have fled
On the wings of the year that's awa'.*



SHALL WE FOLLOW THEIR EXAMPLE?
APPLY AT RECRUITING STATION

THE CANADIAN POSTERS ARE SIMILARLY STRIKING IN DESIGN AND LETTERED WITH CATCHY LEGENDS. THE ENGLISH FLAG IS PROMINENT IN SOME OF THEM, WHILE IN APPEALING FOR RECRUITS FOR THE HIGHLANDER REGIMENTS SCOTCH PLAID COLORS ARE USED, AND IN OTHER POSTERS THE MAPLE LEAF, THE EMBLEM OF CANADA, APPEARS

**The Happy Man Today
is the Man at the Front**

**Royal
Highlanders
of
Canada**
Allied with the
**BLACK
WATCH**

Have Enlisted at their
Armoury for Overseas Service


13th Bn. C.E.F.
Now in France
42nd Bn. C.E.F.
Now in England
AND THE
73RD Bn. C.E.F.
is now Mobilizing

**JOIN
THE
73RD
NOW**



IF YOU WISH TO JOIN, WRITE TO
73RD ROYAL HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA
429 Bleury Street, Montreal

ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE MADE FOR LOCAL MEDICAL EXAMINATION AND TRANSPORTATION
TO MONTREAL.



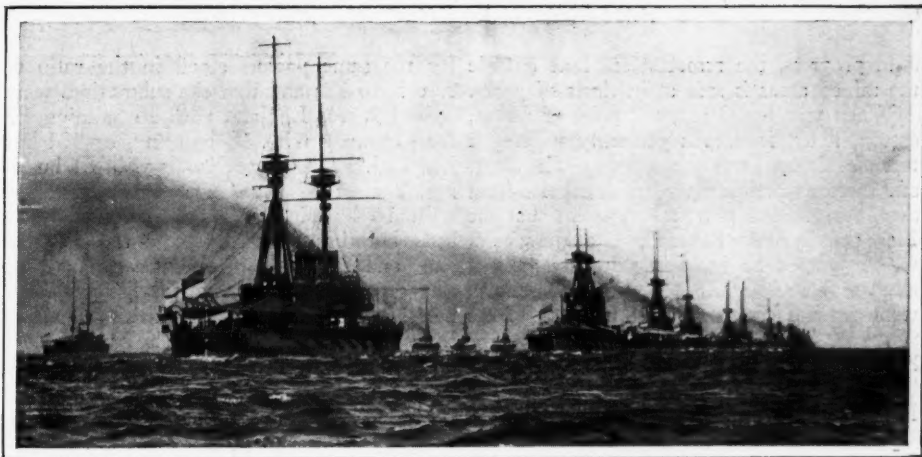
**GRENADIER
GUARDS**
OVERSEAS BATTALION

Class for training N.C.O.'s
begins immediately.

APPLY AT
GUARDS' ARMOURY
ESPLANADE AVENUE

Pay and allowances begin at once.
This class is open to all. Previous
training not essential.

F. S. MEIGREN, Colonel,
Commanding, Grenadier Overseas Battalion.



THE BRITISH BATTLE LINE ON THE WATER

WHAT SEA POWER MEANS TO ENGLAND IN THIS WAR

BY A. C. LAUT

IT is hard for the landsman to realize that the silent pressure of Sea Power may decide the ultimate issue of the Great War without any matched and pitched battle whatever.

It has been said that one single error in the Fleet might end the history of England; yet men have asked in wonder and scepticism,—where is the Fleet? What is it doing? Where are those boasted monsters of mystery that slip in and out of the fog, the watch-dogs of the Empire, bound whither and whence no man knows? Isn't this policy of secrecy being maintained too rigidly? We, the public, have paid the bill; and it has been a whale of a bill,—£1,000,000 in 1900 for dreadnoughts, £1,500,000 in 1905 for dreadnoughts plus some new wrinkles in guns and plating and speed; £2,700,000 in 1910 for superdreadnoughts, with such speed and hitting power as the world has never before known. We've paid the bill and whooped huzzas, and trusted the fate of the Empire to the Fleet. What's the Fleet doing? We have a right to know.

Just what the Fleet means to England is best appreciated when you remember that the German naval base is less than 375 miles from London, or 560 miles from the Firth of Forth, which is the base for the English North Sea Fleet. Put it another way! It would take the German Fleet less time to

reach England than it would take a New Yorker to hop on the train and reach Mont-real. To be explicit, the fleets of the two greatest rival powers are only sixteen hours apart. Maxim says that a European power could land 200,000 men on the Atlantic shores of the United States a month before a defensive force,—naval and land,—could be mobilized to repel invasion. If that danger exists for the United States,—3000 miles, or ten days, away from hostile base,—how much greater is the danger to European powers at war only sixteen hours apart!

What the Fleet has been doing has already been guardedly answered by Premier Asquith. The fact that England has not been invaded is the silent work of the mysterious Fleet; and it hasn't been negative work. It has been positive, though every move has been shrouded in mystery and secrecy.

The Fleet has guarded the transport of 2,500,000 men. It has brought home more than half a million invalids. It has protected the carrying of 3,000,000 tons of food and supplies for Great Britain. It has made safe the conveying of 800,000 horses. It has ensured the Allies' supplies and munitions to the value of a billion and a half dollars. It has patrolled and policed the sea lanes of the world for a year and a half; so, though the most colossal war that ever shook the world

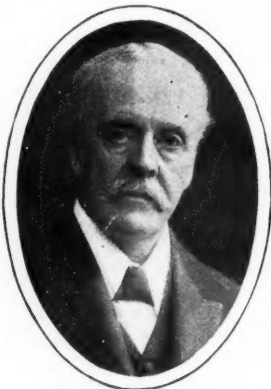
is in progress, the remotest sea lane outside for the same powers stood in the ratio of the mined areas is safe as in times of peace. 9 to 5, to 12; and that the submarines were

When war broke out, the price of wheat, ranked 76 for England with 20 building, 27 cotton, flour, foodstuffs generally suffered a for Germany with 12 building, or 171 for terrible slump from sheer fear. The ports England, France, and Russia with 61 building of America were blockaded with exports from ing, against 37 for Germany and Austria sheer fear. Soon as it was apparent that the with 16 building. All the countries have Fleet could protect the sea lanes of the world, been building feverishly since the war between wheat jumped 50 cents in price,—a gain of gain; and England's merchantmen have been almost \$200,000,000 to America,—cotton as great a source of strength as her navy. Of went from 6 cents to 12 cents,—flour from merchantmen, she has requisitioned 1500 \$6 to \$7.50 a barrel; and so all along the since the war began; and by seizure and line of what America had to sell to Europe. purchase, she added from her shipyards 179 That is what the Fleet meant to America. more war vessels. England's merchant fleet It swept the seas of the world clear of fear. ranked 20,000,000 tons to Germany's 5,

What the Fleet meant to Germany is best evidenced by the fact that fifty-seven German and Austrian ships in the Mediterranean at once tied up in the harbors of Italy, sixty-six German and Austrian ships in the harbors of the United States, nine in Hawaii, some thirty-eight in the various ports of South America.

If the sea power of the Fleet had been as much of a myth as it was a mystery, 170 great ocean-going vessels would hardly have taken to their heels and scampered for safety to intern in neutral ports. Yet, at this time, not a shot had been fired. Outside the Admiralty and Navy, probably not a dozen people knew where the Fleet was; but there wasn't any doubt that it was. And there wasn't any doubt that it could fire some husky shots if it had to. Though the Fleet has guarded the sea lanes of the world for a year and a half, though it has chased commerce destroyers from the surface of the sea and from under the surface of the sea, its loss in men to date has been less than one-tenth of one per cent.

It doesn't mean very much to say that when the war broke out, England's dreadnoughts numbered 46 to Germany's 28, and France's 12, and Russia's 11, and Japan's 10, and Italy's 10; and that the battle cruisers



THE RIGHT HON. A. J. BALFOUR, HEAD OF THE BRITISH ADMIRALTY



ADMIRAL SIR HENRY B. JACKSON, FIRST SEA LORD OF THE BRITISH NAVY

ships a day, of which, with the exception of one great liner and nine battleships, the majority have been small freighters and trawlers. Of trawlers and motorboats chasing out submarines, England has more than 3000 watchdogs busy on the sea.

But these figures mean little till you examine in what the power of the Fleet lies. There is one submarine now acting for the Allies in the Baltic of 5400 tons displacement, 400 feet long, with a cruising radius of 18,500 miles, with motor power for a cruise under surface of 275 miles, space for a crew of 120 men and torpedoes to the number of 60. You understand now why Germany cannot use her bottled-up Fleet to land troops on the Russian shores of the Baltic. When the war began, it was understood the submarine radius seldom exceeded 2000 miles and that no submarine could carry more than eight or ten torpedoes. If the lay mind wants it in dollar terms, the torpedoes used for the latest submarines cost from

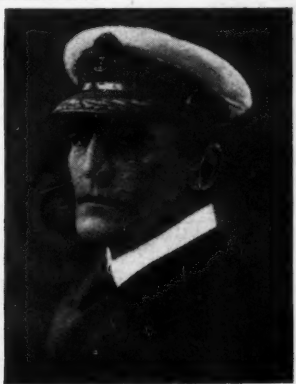
Germany's 5,000,000; and between interned ships and ships destroyed, Germany's merchant fleet to-day ranks nil. It has been swept absolutely and utterly from the seas. As to England's losses from submarines at time of writing, they have averaged up exactly one and one-sixth



ADMIRAL SIR DAVID BEATTY
(Commanding the first battleship
squadron)



SIR JOHN R. JELlicoe
(Admiral of the Fleet)



COMMODORE TYRWHITT
(Commander of the destroyers)

\$2000 to \$5000 each; so that if a submarine has to fire five shots for one hit, it is expensive sport.

Or take the use of electricity and oil increasing the power of the Fleet. Electricity and oil give a cruiser a wider radius than coal by 50 per cent. Smoke has always been the great betrayer. With oil and electricity for the motor power, and with smokeless explosives for ammunition, the Fleet of to-day moves silent, mysterious, almost unseen. The great dangers to-day are wireless, the eye in the sky,—the aeroplane, and the eye under the surface of the sea,—the periscope of the submarine. Mention should here be made of the Zeppelins. The Zeppelins have not been credited with much success in this war. The truth is the fleets of Zeppelins have hovered constantly over the North Sea, and have done as much to defend Germany's coast as the British Fleet has done to defend British shores. The ponderous sausage has justified itself. Maxim says a single shell from the huge gun of a superdreadnought has striking force to hoist a battleship the size of the *Oregon* clear six feet above the sea. A 12-inch projectile of 1000 pounds for a naval gun means a 50,000-tons blow at fifty feet,—a monster force never before known or dreamed of in warfare,—a force absolutely and utterly irresistible to any foe.

FIGHTING AT LONG RANGE

The fight in the North Sea began twelve miles away. When the *Bluecher* was struck, she was ten miles from her English enemy. When von Spee and Cradock fought off Chile, they opened fire at a distance of 12,-

000 yards; and Cradock had old-fashioned obsolete ships. If old-fashioned obsolete ships open fire at 12,000 yards, what the superdreadnoughts can do may be guessed. What they can do, experts say frankly, is throw a 2000-pound projectile twenty-five miles with such accurate range-finders that the deflection will be only twenty yards for six miles. In fact, the improvement and change in naval equipment has been so swift and revolutionary that the life of a battleship has been rated first rank for only five years. In speed, in size, in armor proof, and big gun fire, the changes have come so fast since 1905 that the nations had either to fight it out or cripple themselves financially building bigger and bigger monsters of the sea; and oddly enough, the changes all date from a little "cheese box on a floating saucepan," the *Monitor* of Civil War fame. From the time the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* spat out their fire-cracker shots at each other, it has been a race among the nations for speed, armor proof, big guns, and long range. Those best informed declare that the big gun and speed have rendered secondary both armor proof and submarine; but these are disputes that will be finally settled in the present war. Neither side has had any monopoly of courage. The courage of both sides has been magnificent,—almost terrible, but speed and the big gun have won.

When Cæsarism arose in the person of the Spanish King and challenged liberty in the days of Queen Elizabeth, the challenge was met and defeated on the sea. Likewise, when Cæsarism arose in the menace of Napoleon, the challenge was met on the sea; and in the same contest to-day the challenge will

be decided on the sea, though the Netherlands now as then bear the brunt of land fighting. Deadly hand-to-hand grapple, blood-drenched decks, and smoke clouded skies have passed forever as phases of great naval battles. When a projectile weighing a ton is fired from ten to twenty-five miles away, armor proof fuses to molten metal, and the stricken ship founders before an enemy appears. Future naval battles may be fought miles up in the air and miles down under the sea, with aeroplanes for eyes and wireless for ears, and submarines and destroyers for scouts, but they will be fought miles apart; and the ship with a four-mile range will never tempt odds with the ship of twenty-mile range. This is one reason Germany has kept her Fleet bottled up in the Baltic. The other reason is purely strategic. She has needed her Fleet in the Baltic to

prevent the Russians from landing troops for the invasion of German territory.

TRAINING BATTLESHIP CREWS

If it is a puzzle to landmen to realize how the silent pressure of a monster invisible Fleet can determine a war without a pitched battle, it puzzles him still more to understand why the upbuilding of a navy requires years instead of months. The time required to build a dreadnought is usually given as about thirty months. Under stress, it is acknowledged by experts, a dreadnought might be completed in six months. Why, then, all this pother about years to build up a navy? If a battleship is simply a piece of huge mechanism, a man can learn to run a motor in a month; why not a dreadnought and the dreadnought's guns?

If you will recall your sensations the first time you let on speed when you meant to turn it off, and then steered for the telegraph pole you meant to miss, and if you will multiply the weight of an automobile motor by 28,000 times and the complication of its mechanism by 28,000 times; and if you will try to realize that instead of one life at risk in the motor there are from 700 to 1200 at risk on a modern battleship,—you have the answer to your question. It takes ordinarily five to eight years to make a skilled

mechanic; and every gunner on a battleship must be not only a skilled mechanic but almost a scientific expert. Naval men give the time required to train a crew for a battleship at five years, and that is scant enough when you consider that a projectile wrongly handled may cost a thousand lives. One of the worst accidents that ever occurred on a battleship arose from a false maneuver and one of the second worst arose from the failure to notice in the confusion of smoke at gun practice that a charge had not exploded. One moment the great ship *Bulwark* was a

humming hive of industry and life. Some fool dropped a torpedo where it did not belong. There was a flash of flame; and not a fragment of life or ship remained. This was only a few months ago. A monster superdreadnought is literally a volcano with a range of destruction for

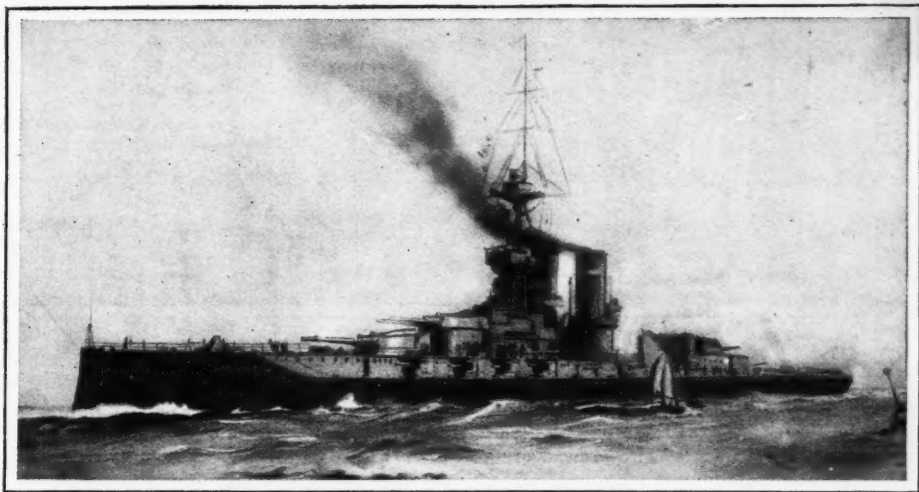


A BRITISH MONITOR DOING DUTY OFF THE BELGIAN COAST

twenty-five miles and a crew of 700 or 1500 sitting on the lid. A nation cannot afford to have greenhorns or panicky heads or jumpy nerves monkeying with a monster floating menace that stands for \$10,000,000 in value when all is well, and may stand for twice that in loss if anything goes wrong.

SUBMARINE VERSUS SUPERDREADNOUGHT

The question has again and again been asked whether the submarine does not mark the passing of the superdreadnought to the scrap heap. The big gun has certainly discounted armor proof. How about the submarine and the dreadnought? Sir Percy Scott in England and Admiral von Tirpitz in Germany certainly banked on the submarine as more powerful than the dreadnought, but there is not an expert living who would answer that question with finality to-day. To begin with, the submarine has only begun. What improvements may develop no one knows. At time of writing, the final word in submarines is the big fish in the Baltic; but that submarine may be discounted by a craft built to-morrow. The submarine has some terrible disadvantages. It has no eyes except in the daytime and does not seem able to develop any, such as searchlights, without betraying its own presence. A joke is told in this connection on



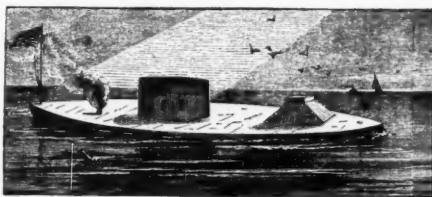
THE NEW BRITISH SUPERDREADNOUGHT, "QUEEN ELIZABETH," IN ACTION IN THE DARDANELLES

some of the cruiser crews. The captain of ship sunk, though they play bridge and the submarine crew wagered the captain of a gramophone going at the bottom of the sea the cruiser that he could follow cruisers and when hidden from attack, the strain on the destroyers out to sea below the surface and nerves is terrific. The stillness is palpable. The sense of unknown danger and utter isolation will unstring the strongest. Secrecy as to submarines is quite as much to preserve the morale of future crews as to hide the horrors of death by suffocation and strangulation when caught in the enemy's nets and sent to bottom for five days.

A bubbly trail seemed visible. "Hey—there! Hello!" shouted a voice on the other side; and the submarine lay rolling gently on the opposite side from the look-out given. A false dummy alarm of which the navy keeps the secret to itself had been given on the wrong side—a torpedo "fired round a corner" according to young Hays Hammond's invention of some other device to mislead an enemy.

Other great disadvantages of the submarine are slow speed. It can always be sighted from an aeroplane overhead. The quarters are cramped for the crew, and the atmosphere, especially when the submarine

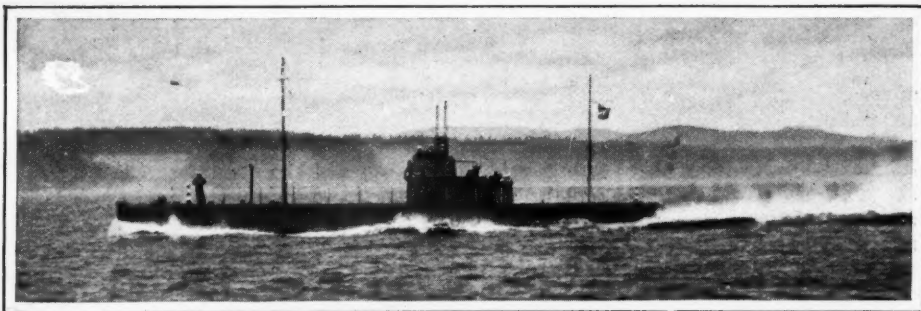
must dive and rock at bottom—"go to sleep" should be given. When the fleet and trawlers is the technical phrase—becomes fearfully and chasers first began to capture the submarine close, damp, cold and impregnated with marines, quarter was given to the captured gasoline that has a nasty headachy effect on crews. Because submarine warfare was held to be piracy, these men were not treated as prisoners of war. They were closely con-



THE IRONCLAD "MONITOR" OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

(The germ of the great floating fortresses like the *Queen Elizabeth*)

The most that any expert will venture on is that to the present, the submarine has not superseded the big ships. It is a well-known fact in navy circles,—which Germany may deny as she will,—that between nets and submarine chasers armed with quick-range light guns, the British Fleet has "got",—to use the seaman's expression,—over 84 per cent. of all Germany's submarines. This explains Germany's sudden compliance with the United States on modifications of the sea war. There are ugly stories going the rounds about the defeat of the submarine. In justice both sides



A CANADIAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE ROYAL NAVY

fined. Then two things happened. The *Lusitania* was sunk. A submarine when captured broke the rules of war. It had been hauled to the surface. The crew were ordered to surrender. Their answer, whether in obedience to orders from Germany or not is not known,—was to hurl a bomb, which sent submarine and crew to suicidal destruction and endangered the victorious ship.

THE FATE OF SUBMARINE CREWS

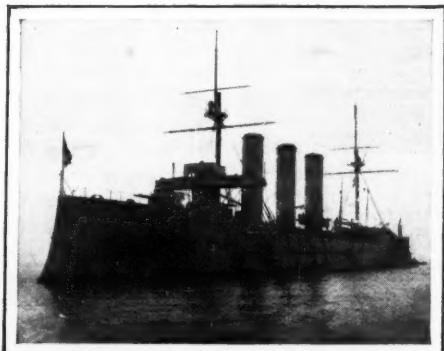
Since which episodes,—the Fleet makes no apology, but acknowledges the fact—no quarter has been given submarine crews. "No quarter" is an ugly phrase. It means one of two things, death at pistol point, or slowly on the bottom of the sea. Half an hour after the *Hesperian* was torpedoed,—spite of the giff guff exchanged diplomatically on the subject—an English crew "had" the submarine. One story goes,—the captured were shot on the spot; the other, that they were bundled into the submarine prison and sunk to the bottom of the sea. It may be stated authoritatively that the majority of submarines captured in nets have been sunk and left at bottom five days before being towed in. One can hardly imagine a more

hideous death. The sword stroke would be merciful compared to slow strangulation; and the horror of fate in a submarine has been a potent influence in modifying submarine warfare. Someone has called submarine warfare "lynch law on the sea". If it is, Nemesis has overtaken the law-breaker in swift destruction that will never be told.

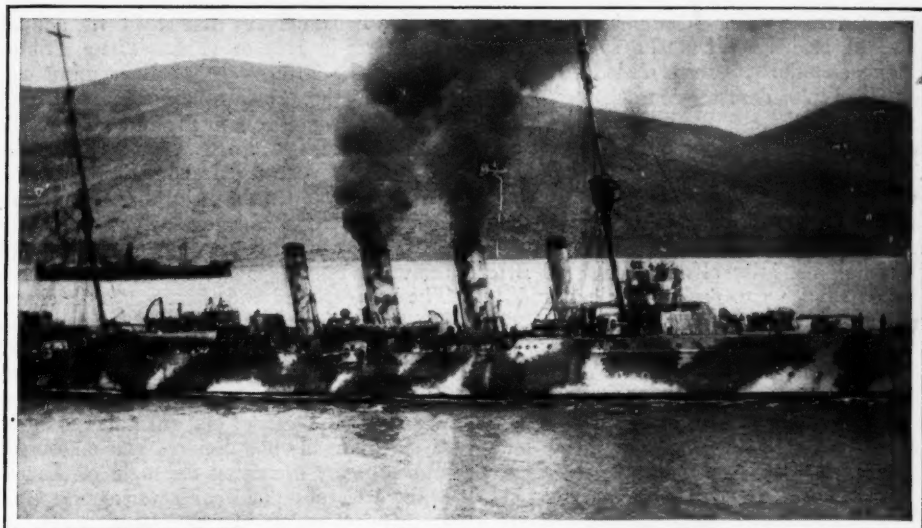
THE NAVAL PERSONNEL

Of the men who built up the Fleet to its present efficiency, little need be said. Their names are household words in the Empire. All are non-talking men, like the silent monsters they command, slipping in and out of the fog. Fisher, Scott, Jellicoe, Beatty, Cradock, Churchill, Wilson, Callaghan, Louis of Battenberg, King George, Hamilton,—are a few of the names that come up when you trace the development of the American idea of "a cheese box floating on a saucepan", up to the magnificent structures known as superdreadnoughts, which have been described as the most devastating implements of destruction devised by the mind of man.

The heroes of the war, themselves, are new names, the majority very young men, who shun publicity as the Fleet shuns news. Jellicoe, in supreme command, had been with the *Camperdown*, when that false move caused the fearful Mediterranean tragedy. He had been a great gun specialist and one of the creators of the monsters which he commands. Churchill has received the most abuse, first, because he was a civilian, second because he was a minister of the crown and disappointment could be vented on him; but it must not be forgotten Churchill was the man who had the Fleet mobilized and the watch dogs of the seas at their post, when the war broke out. It may be said that without authority from the Cabinet or coöperation of the Cabinet, he prevented the invasion of England; and the Cabinet has accordingly never forgiven him. The truth



THE ARMORED CRUISER "ESSEX" WHICH HAS BEEN USED FOR PATROLLING THE AMERICAN COAST



© Underwood & Underwood, New York

A BRITISH WARSHIP IN THE DARDANELLES

(The peculiar coloring on the sides of the vessel is due to the new war paint used for purposes of disguise)

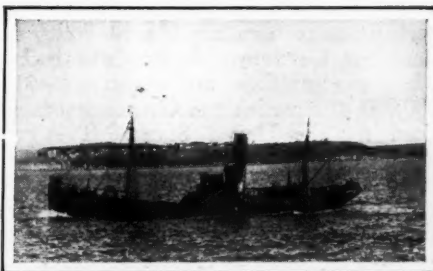
of the mistakes at the Dardanelles with which the Fleet is but the nerve center of the he is charged has never been given to the Marine public.

Fisher was the picturesque figure. Asked once about "the humanizing of war", he answered: "You might as well talk of humanizing hell. When a silly ass at The Hague got up and talked civilized warfare, putting your prisoner's feet in hot water and giving him gruel, my reply was totally unfit for print. As if war ever could be civilized! If I am in command when war breaks out, I shall issue as my orders,—Moderation is imbecility. Hit first! Hit hard! Hit everywhere! I think the best epitaph is,—'death found him fighting'."

When one asks why an officer, who has uttered these brave words, drew down the blinds of his town house and went off to Scotland in the sulks, you must make a distinction sharp and clear as to England's sea-power in time of war. England's sea power has three departments: the Admiralty, which is officialdom, the Polonius type, full of platitudinous red-tape talk and most damnably inefficient,—the barnacled dead-head and wharf-rotted derelict: the Fleet, which is the fighting nerve of sea power; the Merchant Marine, which covers the seas and feeds its supply of men and brains and brawn into the Fleet. Before a nation can be great on the sea, it must love the sea and be born to it and cradled on it and bred up to it. That is England's Merchant Marine; and

BLUNDERS OF THE ADMIRALTY

Where blunders have occurred,—and terrible blunders have occurred in spite of the veil of secrecy discreetly dropped—they have emanated from the dunderheads of the Admiralty. For instance, I know of cases where boat-loads of motor-trucks from the United States were needed most desperately at the front to transport ammunition. Yet because some Admiralty dunderhead suffering from a plethora of blood and self-esteem higgled and haggled over an order to show his power, those ship-loads of motor-trucks lay at anchor unloaded in a harbor of France for one month. Now, any big shipper knows that an idle ship loses \$5000 a day in these times. Figure out a month's loss yourself!

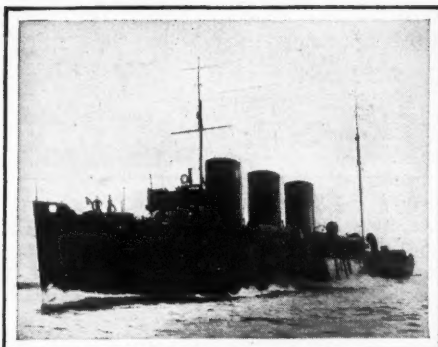


© International News Service, New York

A MINE-SWEEPING TRAWLER

(Used in the North Sea and Dardanelles)

Or take another higgie-haggle over the cost of chain! When the submarine war began and the seas were seeded with mines, England was desperate for chains to sweep the seas. By a great effort an American shipper got his hands on 60,000 tons of chain. The Admiralty fat-heads dickered and dockered for three months over a difference in price of one-quarter of a cent a pound,—or say \$500,000. They wanted it for \$300,000 less. In the interval of 90 days, 78 British cargo ships were sunk by mines and submarines. Figure the loss from those Admir-



©Underwood & Underwood, New York

THE TORPEDO-BOAT DESTROYER "SWIFT"—WITH A SPEED OF 36 KNOTS AN HOUR

alty gentlemen for yourself! One can imagine Fisher's comment not being fit for print; and as he was past the age for active sea service, it wasn't unnatural he went to Scotland.

WHAT THE FLEET ACTUALLY DID

And now on a basis of concrete fact, what has the Fleet done? It has kept the sea lanes open. It has made possible the feeding of England in spite of war. It has kept the doors of the sea open to almost \$2,000,000,000 worth of American exports to Europe. It has also held up \$14,000,000 worth of pork products from the United States destined for Germany. It has held back,—when exaggerations are discounted—\$15,000,000 of Austrian and German goods destined for the United States. The exact value of American cotton detained, I have never seen stated; but the fact that cotton stands at a price of 12 cents plus shows that the detention has not seriously depressed values.

But how has the Fleet done all this?

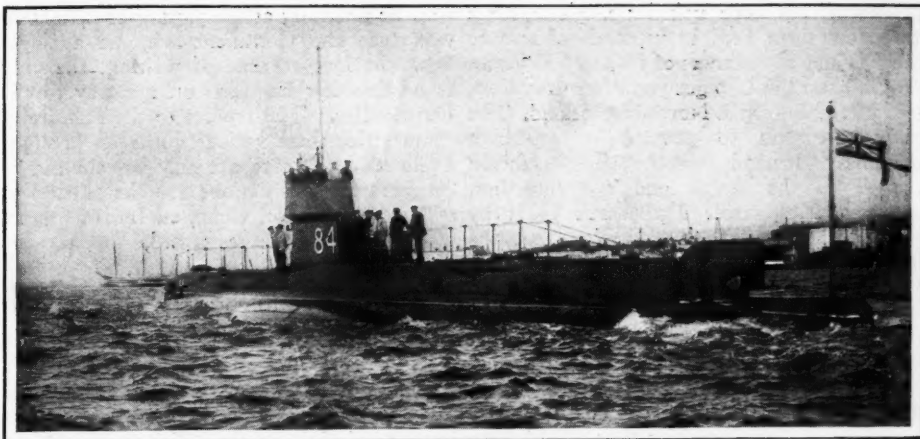
Begin with the mobilization! And this narrative must be condensed.

The British Navy had held its annual maneuvers in July of 1914. These terminated on the 25th of July. Everything was ready for the usual dispersion of men and ships when suddenly, on the 26th, Churchill, unauthorized, issued orders for the Fleet not to disperse. War was declared by Austria on Serbia on July 28th. On the 29th, every British ship in commission without any alarm or fanfare of trumpet was ploughing through the water to her appointed station of defense. The bands played and there was some cheering. That was all. No one apprehended the unusual. The Fourth Squadron under Cradock left for Mexico. The Mediterranean Fleet hied to Malta. All the men knew was a wireless that caught them at Gibraltar saying Germany had declared war on Russia. Amid intense silence on the night of August 4, the declaration of British war against Germany was read to the astonished crews.

As it developed afterwards, the German commerce-raiders had been sent out by wireless simultaneously. How did Churchill know? England may nag at this bumptious, dominant young statesman, who never seems to have grown up from being an aggressive, tactless boy. All the same, she owes the fact that her commerce was not raided off the seas to "the cheeky beggar" who mobilized the Fleet on the dot. Reservists hurried to their stations. The Fleet was on a war footing the night of August 3, and in a word said to Germany,—“Now, go ahead.” Fifteen hundred merchant vessels had been requisitioned. Forts were manned. Patrol boats were sent out on the channels of commerce; and by wireless, Germany sent her big liners scurrying for safety to neutral ports. Sir John Jellicoe was appointed to supreme command.

CLEARING THE SEA OF MINES

Early on August 5 it was discovered that the channels of the sea round the British Isles were being seeded with German mines; and fishing trawlers were organized into mine-sweeping fleets. The Admiralty took over all battleships building in British yards, two for Turkey, two destroyers for Chile, and oddly enough some shallow river monitors for Brazil, which later did great work along the Belgian coast, getting close in, where the big ships could not approach. These seized ships were all, of course, well paid for; and the charter rate for the requisitioned ships ran above all prices ever known in shipping circles. I could tell of one great line of Atlantic ships paid at the rate of



A STERN VIEW OF A LARGE BRITISH SUBMARINE

almost \$75,000 a month. Two submarines building in the United States for Chile were bought for Canada and placed on guard along the Pacific Ocean.

First blow fell on the *Königin Luise*, caught at 9 A. M. on August 5, laying sea-mines off Suffolk. Two English torpedo-boats sank her on the spot with exactly four shots, two in the bridge; one in the bows, a fourth in the propeller. The cruiser *Amphion* was returning from this very chase when she struck one of the mines. She was going at 20 knots. A sheet of flame enveloped the ship. The commander, Captain Fox, was knocked senseless. When he recovered consciousness, the ship's back was broken and she was settling. Twenty minutes after the mine was struck, all hands had lowered away. Another sheet of flame shot up from a second mine; and debris falling on the life-boats killed two seamen and also a German prisoner taken off the *Luise*. In a quarter of an hour more, all was over.

This gives an idea of what the Fleet was doing. It was not lying idle, however silent it may have been, in the mists of secrecy.

The trawlers and mine-sweepers and drifters now began working night and day to clear the mines. Small men-of-war hung by to protect them; but in the mist many a mine-sweeper was sunk by German raiders. On September 3, a second British war-ship struck a mine off the east coast and sank. Two 5000-ton cruisers were missed in December; and bodies washed ashore on the North Coast of Ireland were the only secret of the loss given up by the sea. Reports of trawlers sunk came in almost weekly,—toll of the Fleet taken by the sea for England's

safety, and more than England's safety, for the safety of every traveler who traversed British waters, for every pound of freight passing to or from America. By October, fifteen merchant vessels had been destroyed by German mines and sixty persons of neutral nationality had perished. Of the merchant vessels eight were British, five Danish, one Norwegian, one Swedish.

Henceforth began the lawless sea war. By November, it was found waters had been mined clear northwest of Ireland. They had not been laid by a German ship of war; for British cruisers had been on the watch. The British Admiralty issued warning of "merchant vessels flying a neutral flag" doing this work. Up to May, twelve British merchant vessels and twenty-one trawlers were destroyed by these mines.

WORK OF THE SUBMARINES

The submarine had become active in August, too. The *U 15* was rammed and sunk by a British cruiser; but the most startlingly bold thing happened on September 5, in the Firth of Forth,—the *Pathfinder*, a light cruiser, in the afternoon sank so suddenly that only fragments of wreckage were ever found. The German *U 21* had torpedoed her; and within three weeks, three more cruisers were torpedoed off the Dutch coast by the *U 9*. This submarine was, itself, destroyed in March. The cruisers sunk were the *Aboukir*, the *Hogue*, the *Cressy*. The two latter could have saved themselves but went to the aid of the *Aboukir*; and sixty officers and 1400 men were lost. They saw the periscope of the attacking submarine and put on full speed to ram it down.

A second periscope poked up. The three torpedoes were fired at intervals of twenty seconds and at distances of 500 to 600 yards. In October, the *U 9* got yet a fourth cruiser,—the *Hawke* off the North of Scotland. The ruse here was to pretend to attack a seemingly neutral vessel. The *Hawke* dashed to the rescue and got the shot,—the neutral vessel disappeared as if by magic. It was on this occasion that the submarine fired at men escaping on a raft. On October 31, another cruiser was sunk in the Downs.

The sinking of the battleship *Formidable* on New Year's Day in the English Channel literally paralyzed the world. She had been hit by two torpedoes from a submarine. Captain Loxley signalled ships that would have rushed to the rescue "to stand off from the danger". By trawlers and rowboats some seventy-one of the crew were saved. A destroyer was sunk in May, and the submarine war reached its culmination in the sinking of the *Lusitania* with its appalling toll of life. Sometime in March, an auxiliary cruiser had been sunk; for wreckage was found off Belfast. Of naval men, 2854 had been lost in submarine attacks; of civilians some 1500 to 1700 as far as known.

Meantime, England instituted her closed blockade of Germany. Precautions were taken against submarines. Three thousand chasers,—trawlers, motor boats, destroyers—scoured and swept the seas. By August, 84 per cent. of Germany's submarines had failed to return to their bases. Four submarines destined for the American side of the Atlantic never turned up. A base was picked on the shores of Canada; but the submarines never came out; and a curious unspoken apprehension shook the morale of Admiral von Tirpitz's crews. Why were the crews not coming back? This story may some day be revealed by the British Admiralty,—that is, half the story may be told. The other half of the story lies at the bottom of the sea.

But if this work was chiefly accomplished by the trawlers and motor sweeps, what was the Fleet doing? What had become of the *Audacious* up north of Scotland and Ireland? The ship struck something and sank so quickly no examination could be made. It is understood all hands escaped. Some sixty ships with Australian troops had been convoyed across the Pacific. Some forty ships had brought troops from Canada, and some fifty ships had hurried troops from India. Yet convoy work and submarine hunting were only incidentals of the Fleet's duties. So

was the guarding of the passing of 2,500,000 troops to the Continent without a single loss. In fact at time of writing, the only troop ship lost has been on the way to the Dardanelles. The reports to the Admiralty characterize these various duties as "a slight liveliness." The report may be said not to exaggerate the situation; for the Fleet was still more active off Chile, on Indian waters, off South America eastward, and on the North Sea.

RAIDS AND COUNTER-RAIDS

These various naval actions need not be retold. They are well known. The only evidence of the German Fleet was in the raids at Yarmouth, Scarborough, and Whitby. Admiral Beatty and five other officers, on August 28, led a flotilla of cruisers and destroyers into Heligoland Bight and destroyed two German cruisers. The engagement was at a distance of two miles. English submarines were not idle. Commander Horton under the guns of Heligoland torpedoed the yacht of the German commander-in-chief. She sank in an hour. The British submarine then entered the mouth of the Ems and sank a German destroyer. It was the work of these British submarines that protected the transport of the British troops to the Continent. Horton's raid did not lack thrills. He was chased. He dived and "sat in the mud". He came up again. German cruisers were all about in a flock. He popped again and did not come up for air for six hours; but he sank two destroyers and kept the Germans off the transport ships. In October, the British cruiser *Undaunted* and four destroyers sank four German ships off the Dutch Coast. It was at this stage that the Brazilian monitors did heavy bombardment work along the flank of the German Army, and helped to prevent the advance to Calais. They also stopped the building of a submarine base on the Dutch Coast. It is supposed the Germans raided the east coast of England at this time to divert the North Sea Fleet from bottling the Baltic. The design failed and an armored German cruiser struck a chain of mines and sank in the fog.

Five weeks later, on January 24, Vice-Admiral Beatty got his chance at the raiders, four battle cruisers, six light cruisers and destroyers. They were sighted making for the British coast. Soon as they saw Beatty's squadron, fourteen miles away, they headed for home at high speed. The *Bluecher* was sunk and two German battle cruisers badly damaged. It was a tail chase at 29-knots

pace and at 17,000 yards, the English shots told home. Speed and the long-range gun won for the British. The feed tank of a British ship was damaged and an engineer was killed. In the Baltic, Russia protected her coast, sank a cruiser and lost a cruiser. France took care of the Mediterranean, and only two German cruisers were here,—the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*. They passed into the Dardanelles; and a British officer was tried for their escape; but he was acquitted. The *Goeben* was ultimately disabled by Russia in the Black Sea. In December, a British submarine under Lieutenant Holbrooke passed through the Straits under five rows of Turkish mines and destroyed a Turkish battleship. It was here the British battleships *Irresistible* and *Ocean* were sunk by floating mines.

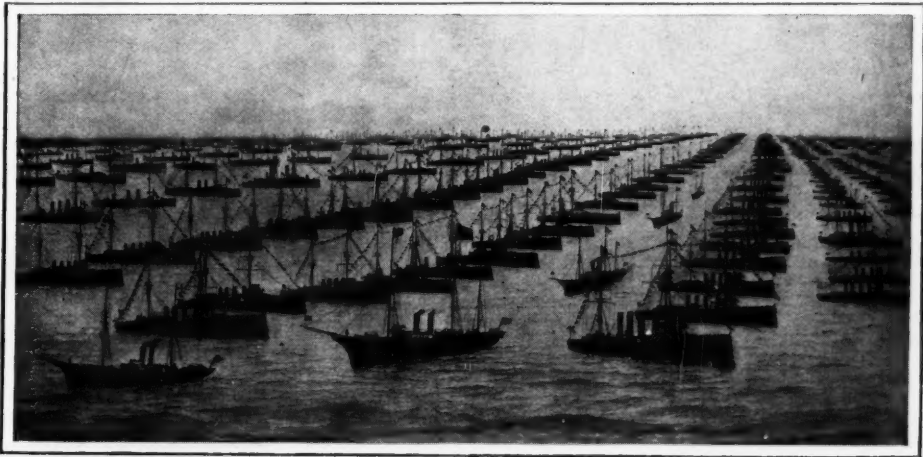
The commerce-raiding of the *Emden* and her destruction by the Australian Fleet, the defeat of Cradock by von Spee off Chile, and of von Spee by Sturdee off the Falklands, have been given fully to the public by the press and need not be repeated. Cradock was defeated in November because his four ships were met by superior, more modern ships; and von Spee in turn was outnumbered and defeated by Vice-Admiral Sturdee with five armored vessels and two cruisers. In each case, victory went to the side with the long-range guns.

The raids of commerce destroyers and the duels of armed merchantmen are a story by themselves thrilling as any old-world tale of corsair and pirate. The great *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse* went down in one of these duels. Sixty armed merchantmen chased the

German commerce raiders off the seas. The *Emden* had sunk seventeen British merchantmen before she was caught. Another German commerce raider,—the *Karlsruhe*—had sunk seventeen British vessels. Her end like the *Audacious* is a mystery. The other German raiders interned at Newport News.

SEA POWER THE DECISIVE FACTOR

Reading of these raids and counter raids and duels of armed corsairs on the high seas, it is hard to realize this is the twentieth and not the fourteenth century; but it is not hard to know what the Fleet is doing. The one thing that stands out in the fearful war is that while the land fighting may be a draw in which each side bleeds slowly to death, sea power remains what it has always been,—the deciding factor. The war has given the greatest impetus to marine interest in the United States known for a hundred years. Every ship-yard in Europe is working feverishly; and every ship-yard in the United States is booked ahead for four years. By the law of neutrality, the United States cannot build vessels for belligerents; but she has built parts for ten submarines, which have been put together in the yards of Montreal; and she has built other vessels which will be delivered after the war. This is something that has not happened since 1854. The impetus is evident in the United States Navy estimates for 1916. Sea power stands out as the dominant factor of the war. Whether that sea power is as great a menace to the freedom of the seas of the world as the piracy of a submarine war,—remains for the world to say.



THE FORMIDABLE FLEET OF GREAT BRITAIN, ASSEMBLED FOR THE ROYAL REVIEW AT SPITHEAD.
AN IMPRESSIVE VIEW OF THE GREATEST NAVY IN THE WORLD



© American Press Association, New York

SERBIAN CAVALRY ON THE MARCH



© American Press Association, New York

A SERBIAN CAMP, SHOWING A BOY OF TWELVE YEARS OF AGE (ON THE LEFT OF THE PICTURE) WHO IS FIGHTING FOR HIS COUNTRY

DIPLOMACY AND BATTLE IN THE BALKANS

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF ITALY'S CAMPAIGN

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE WAR GOES SOUTH

IN November the great Allied offensive in the West dropped to mere fitful cannonading, the great drive was over, and it had amounted to a local success in Champagne and a smaller local triumph in Artois. The German lines had neither been pierced nor broken. On the other hand, the Germans, having brought many divisions from the Russian front, made desperate but unsuccessful attempts to regain lost ground. Aside from very minor incidental successes,—a trench here, a hilltop there,—they failed with heavy losses, and the deadlock remained.

On the Eastern front the life went out of the German effort about Riga. By mid-November German bulletins conceded the abandonment of some positions along the Dwina; the Russians claimed material successes on the south in the thin strip of Galicia remaining to them, including 130,000 prisoners, a ten weeks' bag. Everywhere they were on the offensive, but nowhere did their offensive yet achieve material results. But it was unmistakable that what had occurred in France after the Marne and the Yser was taking place in Russia. The Slavs, like the French, had escaped destruction, were beginning to come back, making their first pushes against the German positions, wholly similar to the first "nibbles" of the Allies in the West many months before.

German newspapers and military writers now recognized the fact that the effort to put Russia out of the running had failed. They recognized it by comments which showed Russia on the offensive and still determined to push the war. They recognized it by their comments on the new Balkan campaign, in which they agreed that the promise of "victorious peace" was now to be seen. In sum, in the West, November made it patent that any Allied intention to break through the German lines had failed com-

pletely of its greater purpose, despite local successes, and in the same fashion established the fact that the German campaign to eliminate Russia had equally definitively failed after far greater successes. To the deadlock in the West there had been added now the deadlock in the East.

Meantime the great German drive to the Golden Horn occupied the attention of the whole world. In France a cabinet fell because of the failure of Allied diplomacy at Athens and Sofia. In Great Britain there was a political crisis, which ended without a change of ministry but in a remaking of military organization, the first signs of which were the visit of Joffre to London and of Kitchener to the Mediterranean.

On the whole, the area of British discontent and disappointment was greater than ever before since the war began. Yet out of both the French and British crises there emerged unmistakable proof that the determination of the French and British peoples was unshaken, that there was no promise or thought of peace. In Briand France called her ablest man, and Briand reaffirmed Viviani's pledge of war until Alsace-Lorraine as well as Belgium was reclaimed, while Sir Edward Grey again repeated Asquith's famous declaration of the inflexible purpose of Britain to dictate peace on the ruins of Prussian militarism, when Belgium had been freed and France made secure.

From Germany by indirect and direct routes rumors of peace continued to flow,—peace which was still described as "victorious," but peace founded on conditions discoverable only to German eyes and disclosing the growing longing of the German people for an end of strife. With these rumors came reports of suffering from food shortage, the description of new regulations to conserve food products, culminating in the taking over by the government of all food supplies. Maximilian Harden's frank state-

ment, "the German people is in distress," was the most tangible evidence of the situation. Even in the face of this, the world believed German scarcity was exaggerated, but in it was found new Allied confidence that the British blockade was at last making itself felt positively as well as negatively.

Turning now to the main military operation, I shall try to describe briefly the apparent reasons for the third great German bid for decision, the march on Constantinople, the attitude of Greece, Bulgaria, and Rumania, the failure of Allied diplomacy and the progress of the campaign itself. I shall also summarize the Italian campaign, which was marked by very severe fighting, particularly on the Isonzo front.

II. GERMANY'S PURPOSE

Everyone is sufficiently familiar now with the two great efforts of German military strategy, to recognize both their character and their failure, that is, their failure as means to end the war by decisive victory. The first blow, that at France, failed at the Marne and the Yser, but left all Belgium and some 8000 square miles of France, the great industrial and mining regions, in German hands.

The second blow, against Russia, finally failed at Vilna in August, when the Slavs evaded the last and most dangerous enveloping movement, but this campaign left all Poland, the Courland, and a considerable portion of Old and White Russia in German hands,—above 125,000 square miles.

Only England of the original foes had so far escaped any serious harm. The submarine campaign had failed. The Zeppelin raids had proven useless as military operations. Safe in her islands, Great Britain was following her ancient course and supplying the enemies of a continental foe with money, with supplies, with growing land forces, while using her fleet to suffocate the economic life of the enemy and to help sweep up his outlying colonies. As England had so far escaped injury, there could be no peace with her on German terms until Britain had been seriously hurt. How could this be done?

The only possible approach to Britain was through British colonies accessible by land. These were Egypt and India. If Serbia were conquered and Bulgaria enlisted, the road from Berlin to the Golden Horn would be open to German munitions and officers, and these would meet the needs of thousands of Turkish troops lacking in arms, ammunition,

or trained leaders. Once this help were supplied, Turkish attack under German direction might be directed against Egypt by Suez, against India by the valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris. One campaign would revive the strategy of Napoleon, the other the memories of Alexander the Great.

For the British Empire the Germans have always rightly maintained that Suez is the most vital point, the "Heel of Achilles," to use their phrase. Egypt conquered, the Suez Canal closed, India would be isolated, British rule in North Africa destroyed. Turkish expeditions would be able to push east along the route of Mohammedan conquest to Tripoli, Tunis, and Algeria, and first British and then French and Italian colonial power would be imperilled, alike by invading armies and revolting subjects still faithful to Islam.

Under the shadow of such a catastrophe, before Egypt were lost or India menaced by invasion and by insurrection, already suggested in November reports, Britain might consent to make peace. To save her empire she might agree to betray her Allies,—every German believes implicitly in the legend of "perfidious Albion"—or she might persuade her stricken Allies to join in the appeal for a peace which would give Germany much in territory, but leave them territorially undiminished save in the case of Russia. For colossal indemnities German armies would agree to evacuate Belgium and France.

For ten years Napoleon had striven to reach Great Britain in his fight for world empire. To England belongs the responsibility for his final destruction, because Britain alone, immune from attack, could give financial and other support to his enemies. England was playing the same rôle again with the same success. The war had become a duel between Germany and Great Britain. If Great Britain were brought to terms Germany's other foes might be expected to seek peace, but unless Britain were struck, or at least threatened and terrified into a peace, then numbers, wealth, and sea power would ultimately win against William II. as they had against Napoleon.

Here is the foundation of German strategy. The campaign through Serbia to the Golden Horn is a blow aimed at Great Britain, an effort to strike at the foundations of the British Empire and compel peace by bringing to reason the one foe still free from any scars of German invasion or any wounds incident to German occupation. In going to Constantinople the Germans opened a new field and took on a fresh campaign,

because it was the single avenue of approach to Britain and until Britain was reached, until the British Empire was threatened, it was clear to them peace was impossible.

It is necessary to recognize that German writers expected and expect that the threat will have the effect desired without a protracted campaign, they expect to make peace at Cairo, not Bombay; on the Nile, not the Ganges, but to understand the campaign it must be accepted as a blow at Great Britain, which is of small importance in the whole war, if it ends with the conquest of the Balkans or the temporary domination of Turkish Anatolia.

III. BULGARIA

Two things combine to explain the Allied diplomatic disaster in the Balkans,—the failure of the Gallipoli campaign and the complete misunderstanding of the Bulgarian situation, which was at all times the key to the diplomatic problem of the Balkans. The failure at the Dardanelles resulted in a loss of prestige that was fatal, because, coupled with the Russian disasters and the deadlock in the West, it gave rise to the conviction that Germany was bound to win. The mistakes at Sofia left Serbia helpless and beyond reach of aid when the true Bulgarian purpose was disclosed.

Now the situation in Bulgaria resulted from two things. Its King, who was complete master, is a former Austrian subject who remains in sympathy and in loyalty Austrian. His ambition was to make Bulgaria the Prussia of the Balkans and his hope was and is to be crowned Czar in St. Sophia, Czar of the restored Byzantine Empire. This ambition explains the Second Balkan War. It led to complete Bulgarian disaster, because Russia, hitherto the champion of Bulgaria, refused to support Ferdinand, permitted Rumania to attack Bulgaria, and thus brought the defeat, which led to the inglorious Treaty of Bucharest, by which Bulgaria was shorn of most of her conquests.

Into this war Ferdinand had been driven by his own ambition and by the urgings of Vienna, which hoped to destroy the Balkan League, a Russian creation, to undermine Russian influence in the Balkans, and pave the way for Austrian advance through Serbia to Constantinople and Salonica. After disaster Ferdinand might have lost his throne but for Austrian aid;—aid which he promised to pay for at the proper time and has now paid for in full. But the great disaster



THE BALKAN COUNTRIES

(Showing the route of the Austro-German advance through Serbia [along the railroad and valley] to Bulgaria and thence to the relief of Turkey. The map also helps one to understand the vital interest of neutral Greece and Rumania in the Serbian campaign.)

to Ferdinand's hopes was a similar disaster to the Bulgarian aspirations, founded upon the dream of regaining the Macedonia which anciently had been Bulgar, and occupying the Egean coast from the Struma to the Maritza.

By the Treaty of Bucharest something over one million Bulgars were turned over to Greek, Serb, and Rumanian. For this treaty there was Russian warrant and no protest from London and Paris. Henceforth the task of the Bulgar was to regain lost provinces, to have vengeance on Serb and Greek. Until Macedonia and the Kavala-Drama district were regained, there could be no thought of permanent peace or friendly relations with his neighbors.

All this the Allied statesmen only partially grasped. After Turkey entered the war they came to the Balkans with a purpose to restore the old Balkan League by persuading Serbia to give up most of Macedonia and Greece, to surrender Kavala and Drama for promises of territory elsewhere. What Serb and Greek knew was that Bulgaria was pledged to the Austrians in any event and all the smooth promises and pledges of Sofia were merely to gain time. What the Allies would not recognize was that there was no hope in Sofia.

Accordingly they persuaded Serbia to make concessions, but Greece would make

none, and Allied urgings resulted in a distinct loss of Allied influence. Kavala was a Greek town. The Drama district had been won by battle. Venizelos, in seeking to persuade his countrymen to yield these cities, lost his hold upon Greece. King Constantine, also the champion of the Germans, outmaneuvered the Allies by playing upon national desire to hold gained territory, largely Greek in population.

At the appropriate moment Ferdinand threw off the mask, mobilized his armies, and prepared to strike Serbia and stretch out a hand to meet the advancing Germans. The Allies, who had failed to see that this was bound to come, were taken unprepared. They had no armies available to go to the aid of Serbia. They could only rely upon Greece, promise Greece provinces in Asia Minor and islands in the Egean; but Greece had to weigh these against the immediate peril of Bulgar and German armies. Against the Allied promise she could also weigh the pledge of the Kaiser that a neutral Greece would not be troubled.

Thus Bulgaria struck. Greece failed to fulfil the mission expected of her and the ruin of Serbia became inevitable. Always, in attempting to understand the Balkan situation, it must be recognized that for long months Ferdinand continued to convince the Allies that for a price that they might offer, he would enlist with them, that he deceived and fooled them completely, and at the proper time, having taken a *pourboire* from Turkey in the shape of the western bank of the Maritza, giving him a railroad on his own territory to the Egean, proceeded to fulfil his promises to Austria.

IV. GREECE

In the case of Greece there was a distinct and decisive popular sentiment in favor of the Allies among the people. The King and his Queen, who was the sister of the Kaiser, were wholly German in their leanings, but Venizelos, the great Cretan statesman, was supreme in the Hellenic Parliament and the advantage was all with the Allies.

This advantage they sacrificed when they attempted to restore the old Balkan confederacy and asked Greece to sacrifice a province to this end. Greece was ready to enlist, she was willing to fight for the Allies, but her enemy was Bulgaria. She knew that Bulgaria meant to take Salonica some day. She knew that Ferdinand was pledged to the Austrians. She realized that her future

was imperilled if Bulgaria were increased at her expense. She had asked of the Allies that in return for her aid they guarantee her integrity and they had replied by proposing her partition.

Venizelos believed the price was worth paying in view of the gains in sight. He saw Allied protection against both Bulgar and Italian, and he recognized that the Italian, already seated in Rhodes and the Dodecanesus, as well as at Valona, was the true menace to Hellenism. He might have prevailed had the Allies now entering the Gallipoli campaign succeeded, but instead, while the Greek elections were still in progress, the King having dissolved parliament to prevent Greek enlistment, the Allied fleet met with disaster and the naval campaign was abandoned.

Venizelos came back to power, but only with the understanding that neither Kavala nor Drama should be surrendered. Again Greece was to be had, if the Allies were prepared to have done with the bargaining with Bulgaria. Serbia, now reorganized and ready, asked permission to attack Bulgaria and Greece would have followed. But the Allies hesitated, still believing Ferdinand was playing fair. While they hesitated the land operations at the Dardanelles were undertaken and led to new defeat. Instead of easy conquest there was instant check and permanent deadlock. Greek soldiers and Greek citizens beheld with amazement Anglo-French troops failing against the troops they had defeated with ease two years before. In addition, to swell the account, German victories over Russia began to fill the world and the speedy elimination of Russia seemed in sight.

After the Allied defeat at the Dardanelles there is little reason to believe that there was any chance of enlisting Greece. The King, popular with the army, exerting great power in consequence, was committed to Germany. His people were still warmly in sympathy with the Allies, but only ready to fight if their own existence was insured, and this the Allies never did insure. They believed to the last that Greece would be forced to fight on their side in the remote contingency that Bulgaria took the Kaiser's shilling, and they refused to believe what Greece knew, that Ferdinand was already in the pay of the Austro-Germans.

When the crisis came, when Bulgaria mobilized, preparatory to attacking Serbia, Greece mobilized, too. Constantine was perfectly willing to have the army in his own

hands. But when the Allies, having a few paltry thousands of troops available, invited Greece to go to the aid of Serbia, in advance of their coming, then the King dismissed Venizelos. His own sympathies doubtless dictated his action, but who can blame any king, with Belgium's fate in his eyes, for declining to risk bringing upon his country the ruin that has afflicted Belgium?

Had the Allies taken the precaution to put 200,000 men in Salonica before Bulgaria mobilized, Venizelos might possibly have prevailed; the Greek people would not have been faced with the danger of fighting the Central Powers, with Bulgaria thrown in, before Allied troops had arrived. Not alone their own fortunes, not alone those of Serbia, but the political power of their best and truest friend in the Near East, Venizelos, was sacrificed by Allied blundering, which cannot be excused and can hardly be satisfactorily explained.

Greece did permit the Allies to send troops to the Serbs. She could only prevent it at grave peril, because all her coasts are open and a quarter of her population live on islands. She was at the mercy of the Allies, but here her assistance ended. Conceivably great Allied victories in the Balkans may enlist her, but such enlistment will probably come only after victory had made Greek help unnecessary. At the critical moment Greece might have thrown 250,000 troops into the field against Bulgaria and saved Serbia, but she would have risked all and she saw, first, that no considerable Allied troops were at hand and, second, that, in a similar situation Belgium has been ruined, nay more, Serbia was about to be destroyed, because of trust in Allied promises.

V. RUMANIA

Rumania's part in all the negotiations remains more obscure. Yet it is plain that under certain circumstances she might have been enlisted. Before the Russian disaster she had named her terms,—Bukovina, Transylvania, the Banat. But Russia had claimed part of Bukovina for herself and a portion of the Banat for Serbia. While the negotiations proceeded Russian disaster arrived. With the disaster there was an end to Rumanian participation for the moment.

With the entrance of Bulgaria and the advance of the Austro-German armies, however, a new situation arose. Under Teuton hegemony Bulgaria now threatened to become the great power of the Balkans. She

was resolved to take from Rumania the Dobruja districts seized by Rumania in the Second Balkan War. A victorious Austria, too, would mean the end of all hope of liberating the Rumanians of Bukovina and Transylvania.

In Bucharest the people were almost unanimously in sympathy with the Allies, with France and Italy, Latin sister states. But the court was Germanic, the King a Hohenzollern, and German finance had long ago become predominant at the Rumanian capital and by its influence controlled many politicians, including the premier, Bratiano. Jonescu, playing the part of Venizelos in Greece, struggled to enlist his fellow-countrymen. But the Allies at Bucharest were eager that Bulgaria should be placated, in the opening days, and suggested Rumanian retrocessions. Rumania, like Greece, feared and hated Bulgaria because the Rumanians, like the Greeks, realized the immensity of Ferdinand's ambitions and the completeness of his devotion to the Austro-Germans. Much harm was done in Bucharest, as in Athens, by the effort to win concessions for a Bulgaria already gone over to the enemy, from nations that were still free to choose. The Rumanian riddle remains insoluble. Ostensibly Rumania has forced the German hand by refusing to permit the passage of German ammunition and troops through her territory, but she has also declined so far to permit Russian troops to go to the aid of the Serbians. Her neutrality on the whole seems to have leaned toward the Allies and against the Austro-Germans, as shown by various bitter comments in Berlin newspapers, but Rumanian aid remains an Allied dream rather than expectation, and Rumanian neutrality the best possible eventuality.

Such, briefly, is the story of Balkan diplomatic campaigns in recent months which have led to a great Allied defeat. Germany won because she had Bulgaria in her hands to start with. The Allies lost because they never could recognize that Bulgaria was beyond their reach and wasted precious months in bargaining with Ferdinand, weakening their prestige in Bucharest and Athens. They lost, too, because their Dardanelles campaign was an absolute failure, destructive of prestige and military reputation.

Aside from Bulgaria all the advantage lay with the Allies. Both in Greece and Rumania the whole weight of popular sympathy was with them. In Greece the greatest statesman of the nation was in power and ready to aid them. In Rumania a conspicu-

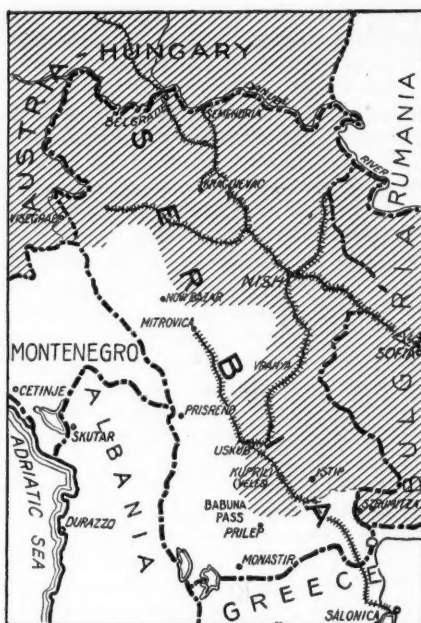
ous leader, Jonescu, worked for an alliance day and night. Russian disaster played its part. The failure in the West, the tremendous efforts of the German agents, the lavish use of money, all contributed to the end. But the real explanation must be sought and found in the willingness of the Allies to listen to Ferdinand, the Coburg Czar, who showed himself the match and the superior of all the Allied diplomatists. He tricked them and he deceived them. If he loses, his throne will be the price.

Even in Bulgaria the Allies possessed many friends. Russia was the hereditary friend. The statue of the Czar-Liberator still stands in Sofia, but Russia had failed to save Bulgaria in the Second Balkan war and had prevented the Bulgarian entrance into Constantinople in the First. At the least Ferdinand so believes, and Germany had now whispered the promise that if the Germanic powers won, the Turk would leave Constantinople for Cairo and the Coburg would reign in the Byzantine Empire. Perhaps Ferdinand in his turn was tricked by this promise, perhaps he plans to change sides again, when he has won his Macedonian price, but out of the Balkan diplomatic embroglio he emerges the dominant figure. His only rival is the Queen of Greece, the sister of the Kaiser, whose will has been supreme in Athens in a great crisis in the history of Hellenism and has been exerted not for Hellenism but for Teutonism. A victorious Germany could hardly fail to heed her claims for Greece.

VI. THE SERBIAN CAMPAIGN

Turning now to the actual operations in the Balkans, it is necessary first to fix in mind the main geographical features of the campaign, which has two separate phases, one supplied by the German advance in the north, the other by the Allied advance in the south. For the first phase the main geographical details are simple.

Roughly speaking the first Serbian field of operations may be represented by the figure of four city blocks cut by a north-and-south avenue, and an east-and-west street. The north-and-south avenue is the valley of the Morava leading from the Danube south toward Salonica and the Egean. Something less than a third of the distance between these two points, this north-and-south avenue is crossed by the east-and-west street, leading along the valley of the western branch of the Morava, from the Bosnian frontier to the



THE INVASION OF SERBIA

(The Austro-German armies advanced southward, and the Bulgarian armies moved westward. The shaded portion of the map shows the territory occupied by the invading troops on November 20)

vicinity of Nish, and then continuing along the valley of the Bulgarian Morava to the Bulgarian frontier east of Pirot and northwest of Sofia.

The Austro-German operation was undertaken to open that portion of the avenue between the Danube and Nish and that portion of the street between Nish and Bulgaria. This is the route followed by the Orient Railway, leading from Austria to Constantinople, the railroad by which Germany means to munition her Turkish ally and send the officers and equipment needed to enable a Turkish army to begin operations against Egypt.

The German plan was this: South along the broad Morava valley from Belgrade and Semendria the main army under Mackensen was sent. East along the Serbian Morava, following the route we have called a street, an Austrian army was sent, moving at right angles to Mackensen and designed to join hands with him. West along the other end of this street from Bulgaria came a Bulgar army aiming at Nish. Finally below Nish the southern half of the avenue was occupied by a second Bulgar army coming over the mountains and thus closing the Serbian line of retreat down the avenue and similarly cut-

ting off any Allied advance to Serbian aid up this route.

The Serbs, taking their stand south of the Danube, were faced with Mackensen's attack coming due south on their front. Their left and rear were exposed to Bulgar attacks coming from Sofia, their right and rear were also menaced by the Austrian army coming east from Bosnia. Think of the whole Teutonic operation as resembling the effort to catch a foe in a net, one end carried by the Austrians, the middle carried by the Germans, and the other end by the Bulgars, and the operation is fairly simple to see.

The double Serbian purpose was to hold back the center as long as possible, escape the ends of the net, and make good an escape into the mountains of Montenegro, if they were unable to hold their ground or if no help came from the Allies. The single line of retreat that remained open was by the Ibar valley, leading from the Serbian Morava valley, the street, in our figure, halfway between Nish and the Bosnian line. By this valley and by parallel passes there was a route through the old Sanjak of Novi-Bazar.

Up to the moment when this is written the Serbs have succeeded in evading the net, but the Bulgars, Austrians, and Germans have joined hands. The Orient Railway line is open. The first purpose of the Germans is achieved. Recall the Belgian campaign and it will be seen that precisely as the Germans there undertook to open a road through Belgium to France, they have been undertaking in Serbia to open a road to Bulgaria and thence to Constantinople. As in Belgium they have succeeded in opening the road, but the Serbians have so far eluded them, as did the Belgians. What remains now to be settled is whether the Serbians, like the Belgians, will escape and join their allies, having lost most of their country, or whether they will be gathered in the net.

Before turning to the second phase, it is necessary to record the fact that Serbian resistance has again supplied one of the most splendid pages in the history of the Great War. A struggle to extermination has been fought. Not alone men, but women and children, have shared in the contest. A struggle of the old-fashioned sort has been waged everywhere save in the broad valleys, where German heavy artillery overpowered the defenders. The cost to the Germans in lives has been tremendous. Serbia has been fighting a national Thermopylæ,—such a fight as she fought and lost against the Turk

five centuries and a half ago, at Kossovo, hard by the present fighting front.

VII. THE ALLIED ADVANCE

Another figure serves to illustrate the second phase in the Serbian campaign supplied by the Allies. On the map Serbia suggests in appearance the outline of an hour-glass. A little more than two-thirds of the distance between the Hungarian and Greek frontiers the country contracts to a width of less than a hundred miles. Actually the whole country is narrowed to a single gap between the eastern and western mountains. At this gap center all the roads coming from the south and the north. Here, too, is Uskub, the capital of the ancient Serbian Empire.

If Uskub were in hostile hands it would be impossible for the northern half of the country to communicate with the southern, for the only roads all converge at this point. Two of these roads from the north and three from the south are of importance. The first northern route is the extension of our avenue, of the previous chapter, the corridor along the Morava, which opens south into the Vardar. Down this comes the Salonica branch of the Orient railroad. The second comes southeast from the Bosnian boundary and is followed for most of its distance by a branch railroad, which, thirty miles above Uskub, enters the Kachanik defile. If the Serbs could hold Uskub, then the main Serbian army retreating could get south and join the Allies. They could go south either by the Vardar Valley along the railroad, or over the Babuna Pass line, which leaves the Vardar Valley at Veles, thus reaching Monastir, or they could reach Monastir by a third road, which goes north almost to Kachanik and then south through Tetovo to Monastir.

To prevent such a retreat the Bulgars early occupied Uskub and pushed up into the Kachanik pass, where they were halted, and attempted to reach Monastir both by the Veles and Tetovo roads. On the former they were halted about Tetovo, in the latter at Babuna, north of Prilip. But by occupying the city of Uskub and the Vardar Valley from Veles north to Kumanovo, above Uskub, they closed the roads from northern Serbia and blocked the way of the Allies. Unless this wedge was removed, there could be no junction in Serbia between the Serb and the Anglo-French forces.

The problem for the Anglo-French forces was twofold. They were constrained to

push north as soon as possible to remove the wedge at Uskub, to check the advance from Veles upon Monastir, but they had also to deal with Bulgarian attacks coming west over the mountains and striking at the Vardar Valley line from the Greek frontier to Veles. At Strumnitza, not far from the Greek line, Bulgar territory was but a dozen miles from the railroad.

Up to November 17 the Anglo-French forces had covered about half the distance to Uskub, steadily driving in the Bulgar raiders. The Serbs were still holding the heights above Veles and the French patrols were about the town, which was still in Bulgar hands. The Allied advance was thus slow but sure and Allied numbers were very steadily mounting. Within the next few days the fate of the Bulgar wedge must be decided. If the Germans can get troops south from Nish to Uskub before the French and British get up, then the Allies will fail in their effort to form a junction with the Serbs to the northeast and open a way for them to retire into lower Serbia. But if the Anglo-French forces arrive first, then the Bulgar forces, stretched out like an arm between the closing jaws of Serb and Allied troops will be removed and the Bulgarian troops to the west about Kachanik and Tetovo will themselves be cut off and destroyed.

A close-drawn race seems inevitable, with the chances about even, but, if anything, favoring the Bulgars, who have been in Uskub for two weeks and have had plenty of time to entrench. On the other hand they are inferior in artillery to the French and can only get ammunition over mountain roads. So far the Anglo-French force has been uniformly successful against the Bulgars, inflicting very heavy losses. But the real crisis of the campaign has only just been reached and the Anglo-French forces are still forty miles south of the town they must reach and hold if the Serbian retreat is to be assured. The Bulgarians are again reported in Tetovo, and their captures of Babuna Pass and Prilep are newly rumored.

One consequence of the opening phases of the campaign has been that once more the little Balkan peoples had been made the victims of the great powers. While the Germans have been crushing the Serbians, the Anglo-French force has been pushing against the Bulgars and the casualties of the soldiers of the Czar Ferdinand are reported to be enormous. Bulgaria, like Serbia, is paying the price, both in Macedonia and along the Thracian coast, where Allied fleets have

pounded into dust the buildings of Dedegatch, the Bulgars' single port on the open sea.

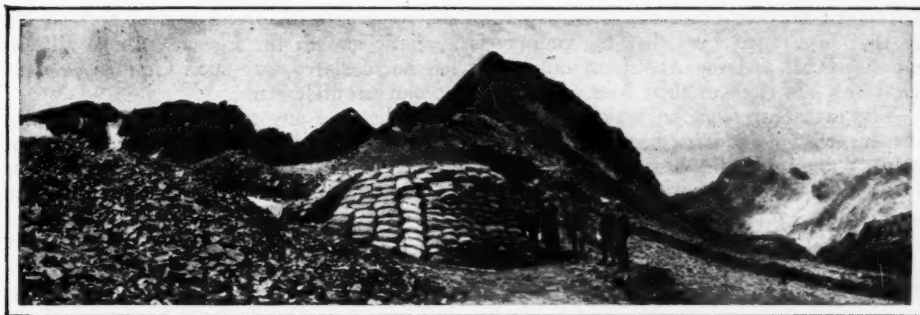
For those who love the parallel in war, the Balkan campaign inevitably suggests that other Peninsular War, which was the first real step in the overthrow of Napoleon. As the campaign progressed there was a striking similarity suggested in the fact that the Allies were soon anxiously bargaining with Greece about the fate of their army, if it should be driven out of Serbia. Thus they were seeking to use Salonica as a possible port of embarkation, as the British had used Corunna a century before, when Marshal Soult's army had driven Sir John Moore to the sea and slain the gallant commander.

To bring Constantine to reason, Kitchener was reported to have gone to the Near East, carrying an ultimatum which amounted to the threat to remove the Hellenic King from his throne if he refused to consent to permit Allied and Serb troops to retire through Greek territory, if necessary, and declined to renounce his reported project to intern these troops. The presence of German officers in Athens, the decision of the King to prorogue Parliament,—a decision acted upon after Venizelos had upset the Zaimis Ministry,—added to Allied anxieties. To the demands Greece is now reported to have bowed, as I close this review; but at the same time Venizelos, declaring that there is no chance for constitutional government, has advised his followers to abstain from taking part in the new election, fixed for December 19, and the last real hope of Greek participation on the Allied side seems to have vanished, and with its disappearance London and Paris, particularly the latter, display new apprehension and fresh fear of royal treachery and Hellenic betrayal.

VII. WHAT OF ITALY?

For several months now one of the most familiar questions in the range of war interrogation has been, "Has Italy done anything?" All over the world the impression has gained ground that the Italian campaign has not merely been a failure, but something of a farce.

Failure it has been, but hardly a farce. Even the failure has come for reasons that are wholly explicable. When the Great War began, the trench conflict was undreamed of, and for the first six weeks the lines swayed backward and forward as of old; only in size was the campaign different. But in mid-



AN ITALIAN GUN POSITION IN THE MOUNTAINOUS FIGHTING ZONE

September the Germans took to the trenches in Champagne, and, having taken to the trenches, they have stayed there ever since and practically on the lines they originally laid down in the Battle of the Aisne and the succeeding phases which extended to Flanders.

In the Italian campaign the war started in the trenches. Austria, long aware of the menace of Italian preparation, began early to construct trenches along her whole western frontier, from Switzerland to the Adriatic. For months the work went on. Thus when Italy at last struck, she ran her head instantly against long lines of prepared positions, such as those in France and Belgium had become. She was halted. She has made no real progress since, but in a period twice as long her British and French allies have made no progress against far less naturally strong works in France.

In the very first days of the war the Italians swarmed over the frontier north of Verona and west of Gorizia; they took Cortina, Ala, Gradisca, and a few other towns outside the trace of Austrian fortifications. Nowhere did they get twenty miles into Austrian territory; nowhere did they make any real breach in the trenches the Austrians had prepared. Like the French and the British advancing from the Marne to the Aisne, they suddenly came within range of heavy artillery, fixed behind permanent trenches, well prepared. And, like the French and the British, they were forced to take to earth.

This is the story of the Italian campaign. Along most of the front from Lago di Garda to the lower valley of the Isonzo they were operating in a region of great mountains, some of them rising to 10,000 feet. The summits, the foothills, all the roads and approaches had long been covered by Austrian defenses. There was little chance to blast a way through this barrier; there was none to force it. Slow, steady pressure, the capture

of a summit here, a trench there,—a difficult and tedious effort, not to break through, but on this front merely to dig in so firmly that if the Germans should join the Austrians in a drive into Italy, the Italian position would hold. This was and is the Italian campaign. Remember that this frontier was traced by Austrian military engineers intent on keeping for Austria every military vantage point, and the task is appreciated.

Between the Adriatic and the mountains, along the Isonzo River, there is a district of relatively level character perhaps thirty miles broad. This is the Gorizia front. Here the Italians could undertake precisely the operation the French have twice attempted in Champagne. By concentrating heavy artillery here they might hope to blast a way into Austria. In the month of November they made the greatest of their many attempts, driven by Allied urgings, to exert a pressure that would prevent the Austrians from detaching troops to help the Germans in Serbia.

But despite the repeated attacks,—and the Austrians concede that both infantry and artillery have played a desperate part,—Gorizia has not been taken, the Austrian line has held, the Italians have been checked with losses estimated by the Austrians at 150,000. Already the fury of the attack is dying out. Italy has gained trenches, as France did in Champagne, although she has taken no such bag of guns and prisoners; but the Isonzo line has held.

If Italy could get Gorizia and the Carso hills south of it she would be in possession of the key to Trieste, which could not long hold out. From Montfalcone, which the Italians hold, Trieste is but twenty miles distant, in plain sight of the Italian soldiers. But at this point Italy has only a bare foothold on the Carso plateau, behind Trieste, and across this plateau she has been unable to advance for many months. In a word, we

have here another deadlock, wholly similar to that in France, save that the country is more difficult and the Austrians, unlike the Germans, are close to their base.

The extent of front on which troops can maneuver is very restricted and the advantage of numbers, which lies heavily with the Italians, is of small value, for the relatively small force employed by the Austrians is sufficient to hold their short lines.

The Italian failure, therefore, is neither surprising nor unexpected. A success would have been a marvelous feat and there has been no major success. Italy has served the Allied cause by exerting pressure on a new front and occupying some hundreds of thousands of Austrian troops, which might otherwise have been used in Russia or Serbia; she has contributed materially to the work of attrition, but her part, so far, has probably been materially smaller than that of Serbia.

It is necessary to record a growing discontent among Italy's allies at her failure to go to the aid of Serbia or help in the Gallipoli peninsula. She has played a rather cold and selfish game. She does not care if Serbia is weakened, because Serbia will be a rival in the Adriatic, if Serbian dreams come true. She has not lent much help to get the Greeks in on the Allied side because

she recognizes in Greece a rival both in the Adriatic and in the Egean. Above all, she has not declared war upon Germany,—why, no one can understand.

If there be any sign of coldness and distrust between the enemies of Germany, it grows out of the wholly self-contained course of Italy. She has men, more men free than any other of the great powers, but she keeps them at home. There is much bitterness in London and Paris over all this. There is a lurking suspicion that Italy may yet desert her friends as she deserted her allies of the ante-bellum days, if she gets a proper price. But there is small reason to attach importance to this because neither Germany nor Austria can afford to give Italy all she desires,—or enough to satisfy her.

I have not attempted to analyze the military operations of the Italians in detail, because they show little of interest, despite some spectacular fighting in the mountains. All reports agree that in the past month the Italians have made heroic attacks along the Isonzo, the greatest effort in their war so far, but for the ordinary observer the real Italian progress can only be apparent when Gorizia has fallen and the Italian cannon are playing upon the forts of Trent, and that time is still, it would seem, far off.



Modern Photo Service

HOW THE ITALIANS TRANSPORT THEIR WOUNDED THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS

OUR MINISTER TO BELGIUM

THE United States Minister to Belgium, the Hon. Brand Whitlock, had held his commission less than eight months when the government to which he was accredited was driven from its capital by the German invader. Whitlock remained in Brussels and to his wise counsel is ascribed the saving of the city from the fate of Louvain, for he it was who persuaded the Belgians not to attempt resistance, which would surely have led only to overwhelming ruin.

An envoy to a ghost among governments,—for a disembodied national spirit Belgium speedily became in 1914,—might well have thought his usefulness outlived; but Whitlock, with his combination of American practicality and lofty humanitarianism, looked upon his mission as only just begun. His official status might take wings; but Whitlock never was a man to care much about the forms and trappings of office anyway. Whether he should remain envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to a phantom government mattered little to him. What did matter was that the suffering and anguish of a whole people gave him, as representative of the great republic overseas, an opportunity to be a "minister" in a very vital sense,—to serve humanity. "Starving people can't eat Hague conventions," he said, when famine threatened the land, and that one sentence summed up his direct, Middle Western method of frontal attack on a big human problem. Food must be had for the hungry.

It was because Whitlock at that crucial time sensed the full meaning of his job and rose to the demands of the hour that he is to-day a popular hero in Belgium, second only to the stalwart young King, while the Stars and Stripes are honored in thousands of humble Belgian homes as no foreign flag was ever before honored in Europe.

Many a diplomat serves a whole lifetime in official routine without doing one-tenth as much for his country or for the world as it has been given Whitlock to do in the past sixteen months. His cares and responsibilities have been enormous. The Commission for Relief in Belgium, whose activities are described in this REVIEW by Mr. Bicknell, worked under Minister Whitlock's orders and directions. Innumerable differences between Belgians and Germans came to him

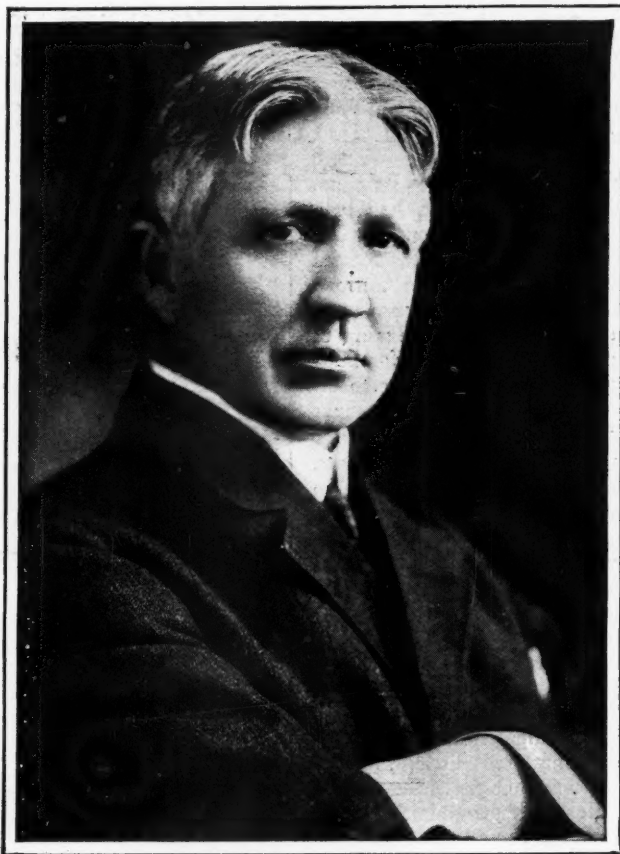


Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

BRAND WHITLOCK, AMERICAN MINISTER TO BELGIUM

for decision. In the early stages of the German occupation the lives of many Germans were saved by his intervention. He was also called on continually for assistance to Americans in the country who found it difficult to get away. Altogether, the demands on Mr. Whitlock's strength were too great; and overwork led to a breakdown of health. A leave of absence was granted for recuperation and he is now in this country for a brief visit.

No one who had followed Whitlock's career was at all surprised by his decision to remain in Brussels in the city's hour of trial, when it would have been easy to find an excuse for abandoning his post. The son of a clergyman, of German ancestry, Whitlock had grown up in the Middle West; had been a newspaper reporter in Chicago, a writer of stories, a lawyer, and for four terms Mayor of Toledo, elected and thrice reelected as the successor and disciple of "Golden Rule" Jones, with whose humanitarian principles Whitlock has always been in complete accord.



MR. ERNEST P. BICKNELL

(National Director of the American National Red Cross; member of the Rockefeller Commission for the Relief of Destitute in Europe, etc.)

A RED CROSS LEADER

MR. BICKNELL'S article, which begins on the opposite page, is deserving of particular attention as the most complete account of the relief work in Belgium, from an authoritative source, that has appeared in any magazine. Mr. Bicknell went to Belgium as National Director of the American Red Cross, and in coöperation with the Rockefeller Foundation was responsible for the distribution of food and clothing sent from the United States. This rapidly assumed the proportions of a colossal undertaking, requiring a large staff of workers and a perfected organization. Something of the magnitude of the enterprise is suggested in the article. A tour of Serbia was necessary for a similar purpose.

This was not Mr. Bicknell's first experience in supervising relief work. After the San Francisco fire in 1906 and the Sicilian earthquake of 1909, he represented the Red

Cross in the measures that were taken for relieving distress, and he has made a special study of relief methods for many years.

A graduate of Indiana University, Mr. Bicknell was for some years engaged in newspaper work at Indianapolis. He then served for five years as secretary of the Indiana Board of State Charities and for ten years as general superintendent of the Chicago Bureau of Charities. Since 1908 he has been National Director of the Red Cross.

At the London Congress of the International Red Cross, in 1907, Mr. Bicknell represented the United States. In the following year he was president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction. He is a director of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis and a member of the executive board of the Boy Scouts of America.



Photo by W. C. Edgar, of Minneapolis

A NEW USE FOR THE BRUSSELS CHURCHES—STORING FOOD

HELPING THE BELGIANS

BY ERNEST P. BICKNELL

AT the outbreak of the war the executive committee of the American Red Cross decided to concentrate the work of that organization upon the medical and surgical care of sick and wounded soldiers. This decision was in keeping with historical precedent, although many officers and members of the society greatly regretted the fact that it prevented the Red Cross from participating actively in the relief of non-combatants. Large opportunity was found, however, for helping the sick and wounded in the several belligerent countries, through the personal services of near three hundred surgeons, nurses, and sanitarians and the provision, during the first year of the war, of over 3,500,000 pounds of hospital and medical supplies, numerous ambulances, etc.

On the other hand the Rockefeller Foundation turned its attention to the needs of non-combatant populations in regions actually over-run by military operations. For the effective execution of its purposes the Foundation created a War Relief Commission which was sent to Europe to investigate conditions of life in the zones of military activity and to carry out such relief measures as were found necessary. As national director of the American Red Cross and di-

rector of the War Relief Commission of the Rockefeller Foundation, the writer spent most of the time between the middle of August, 1914, and the middle of July, 1915, in a study, at first hand, of conditions in the countries at war. The month of December, 1914, was spent in Belgium, during which period rather extensive tours of inspection were made and much of the country visited. Later in the winter and again in the spring of 1915 visits of shorter duration were also made to Belgium.

On the last of these visits I entered Belgium from Germany, traveling by way of the city of Verviers with its environment of tumbled hills, across the River Meuse at Liège, and through the fertile plain which lies between Liège and Brussels. From Brussels our way led northward through Malines and Antwerp to the Holland boundary. Everywhere the fields were beautiful with the soft verdure of March. Farmers and gardeners were busy. Scarcely an available rod of land was uncultivated. Belgium, in fact, appeared normal and, as always, one of the garden spots of the world. One might have said that the country seemed prosperous and happy, with promise of a bountiful harvest.

The first sign of the destruction of war was seen at Louvain, where the buildings all about the railway station stood in blackened ruins. Between Louvain and Brussels, here and there, a burned house was visible. Brussels, beautiful as ever, was untouched by the destructive hand of war. The small towns between Brussels and Antwerp had suffered much, while the heart of Malines, with the battered walls of the splendid cathedral towering high in the midst of the wreckage, was a scene of pathetic desolation. Northward from Antwerp to the Holland line were no visible signs of war.

DESTRUCTION EXAGGERATED

A traveler, impressed by the story of Belgium's woes, might easily find himself in a condition of bewildered surprise at the conclusion of such a journey, and inclined to feel that the world had been grossly deceived in regard to the extent of the disaster which had befallen the country. So far as actual destruction of tangible, visible property is concerned,—of houses and outbuildings,—it is probable that the people of the United States have received exaggerated impressions of what happened in Belgium.

In the larger cities the destruction was in no instance more than a small proportion of the total number of buildings. In Antwerp, with a population of over one third of a million, a few scattered structures were destroyed by shell fire. Liège, with almost a quarter-million people, lost no more buildings than might have been destroyed by a somewhat unusually disastrous fire in normal times. Neither Brussels, with its 600,000 people, nor any of its suburbs suffered any losses of this character. Malines, with 60,000 people, lost several hundred buildings, chiefly business blocks, while Louvain, the heaviest sufferer, perhaps, among the important cities, lost 1100 buildings, principally residences of the better class.

As Louvain had a population of approximately 43,000, it is probable that the total number of buildings in the city was about 11,000 and, therefore, that about one-tenth of the city was burned. The important cities of Namur, Charleroi, Mons, Termonde, Ghent, and Bruges lost heavily, but in no case more than a relatively small fraction of their total property in buildings. Especial care was usually exercised by the invading army not to destroy manufacturing establishments.

In many smaller towns the destruction, while not greater in the aggregate, was rela-

tively much greater than in the cities. The little town of Vise, for example, with a population of possibly 4000, was completely destroyed. Dinant, with probably 5000, was almost entirely destroyed. Perhaps one-third of the houses of Aerschot, with 8000 population, were burned, while that ratio of destruction was exceeded in Tremoloo, with 2000 people. Aggregates of losses loom large, and convey an impression which is not fully sustained by a consideration of their total in relation to the total of buildings not destroyed.

This point may be illustrated by the example of the Province of Brabant, in which are situated the cities of Brussels, Louvain, Aerschot, and numerous smaller cities and towns. The province, before the war, contained a total population of 1,454,363. The number of buildings necessary to house the population and business of the province may be roughly estimated at 290,000. A few months after the German conquest, the provincial government of Brabant completed an investigation of certain classes of losses inflicted by the invading army. As this investigation was made by Belgian agents under the direction of Belgian authorities, it may be taken for granted that its findings did not understate the facts. The report of the inquiry as made public showed that 5842 houses had been totally destroyed in the province, and that 16,000 houses had been "damaged and pillaged." Of the houses "damaged and pillaged" it is not shown how many were seriously damaged.

My own personal inspection of houses "damaged and pillaged," while actually embracing only a few hundred instances, included observations in many different communities and may, perhaps, be regarded as affording a fairly reliable index to the condition indicated by the term quoted. "Damaged and pillaged," then, so far as my own observation extended, usually meant a house which had not been damaged by fire, but which had been injured by the haste or the wanton conduct of the pillagers.

It was common to find windows and doors shattered, mirrors smashed, lighting fixtures broken and torn from walls and ceilings, furniture broken to pieces, dishes and glassware in heaps of fragments, and safes, such as are ordinarily used for the protection of money or other valuables, broken open and empty. In stores and shops the stocks had usually been pulled down, and such as were not carried away were frequently left in heaps on the floor, containers broken open



ISSUING FOOD TICKETS IN BRUSSELS

and contents scattered, bolts of cloth unwound and trampled on by dirty boots, etc. While the losses caused by "damage and pillage" were great, they seldom involved very serious damage to the houses and, in fact, such houses were, as a rule, reoccupied by their tenants soon after the restoration of orderly government.

INDUSTRY AND TRADE PARALYZED

Great as were the losses from burning and pillage, and from destruction caused by actual fighting, the chief losses in Belgium are the result of the almost complete industrial and commercial paralysis which has followed the occupation of the country by the conquerors, and the levy of tribute thereafter exacted. Belgium normally is not agriculturally self-supporting. She is one of the richest countries, per capita, in the world, but her wealth lies in her manufactures, her mines, and her commerce. Only 25 per cent. of her people are classed as agricultural, and she produces less than half the cereals which she consumes.

With the German invasion, all industries, with a few minor exceptions, came to a standstill. Raw materials could no longer be imported and manufactured; products could not be exported. All railroads discontinued operation, except as required by the Germans for the transport of soldiers and military supplies. Citizens of Belgium were forbidden to leave their own communities, except upon special passes which were

issued in rare instances by the German military authorities and permitted only short trips, usually limited to a few hours' duration. Agricultural stocks, cattle, horses and other farm animals, and the raw materials held by the factories were generally seized by the army of occupation. The postal service and telegraph and telephone systems were discontinued. The condition was somewhat analogous to that of a vigorous man, struck down by paralysis and, although in full possession of all his faculties, unable to move hand or foot.

THREATENED WITH STARVATION

Of Belgium's 7,500,000 people, probably 1,000,000 fled into Holland, France and England as the invading armies advanced. After the armies had passed across into France and to the Western edge of Flanders many of the refugees returned. It has been estimated by well-informed Belgians that the present population of the country is approximately 7,000,000. As a result of the stoppage of commerce and industry, and because the small stocks of food supplies in the country were in large part seized by the Germans, Belgium found herself instantly plunged into a condition of destitution, with actual, bald starvation threatening her people.

It should be added that this condition was intensified by the refusal of Belgians to engage in any employment or activity which could possibly be helpful to the conquerors. German military authorities and the German

civil government, which was set up in Brussels, endeavored in vain to persuade and compel the Belgians to reestablish certain industries, to man the railroads, to return to the railway repair shops, to reopen the mines, but this the Belgians steadfastly refused to do. In their stand the people were supported by the Belgian Government, from its headquarters in France.

BELGIUM'S OWN RELIEF ORGANIZATION

As quickly as conditions permitted, leading men of Belgium organized a relief agency which took the name "*Comité Nationale de Secours et d'Alimentation*," but was commonly referred to as the "Belgian National Relief Committee." M. Solvay, one of the great manufacturers and philanthropists of Belgium, was chosen president of this committee, while the most forceful and dominant personality in the group was M. Emil Francqui, director of the *Société Générale*, the greatest banking institution in the kingdom. The committee, in fact, may be said to be representative of all political parties as well as of business and finance.

Under the direction of the National Relief Committee, a subsidiary committee was formed in each of the nine provinces, while under each provincial committee are local committees representing all the communes in the province. The larger communal committees districted their territory, with a subcommittee in each district. The organization is extensive but simple, with the line of responsibility and accountability running unbroken from the smallest district committee

straight up to the National Committee, with all power lodged in the latter. In this connection it is to be noted that Belgium has one of the most highly organized governmental systems in the world, with a great measure of autonomy in its communal groups. The people, therefore, were not in the least puzzled by the relief organization, but, on the contrary, each commune took up its part of the relief administration without friction or delay.

Immediate measures were adopted for collecting funds and getting possession of available food supplies. From the first, however, it was obvious that the task far exceeded the resources of the National Committee and its subsidiaries. Also the regulations of the German civil and military authorities prevented that communication among the various parts of the organization, that supervision and direction of the work, and that movement and distribution of relief supplies, essential to the execution of the program. It was obvious that outside help must be enlisted; and Germany, which evinced an active interest in the project, agreed that the help of neutral countries might be sought, on condition that the American Ambassador in London should become responsible for the strict neutrality of all relief measures and of all agents and representatives of any organization which might be created to work in Belgium. A special committee, of which Mr. Francqui was chairman, was authorized to go to London to confer with the American Ambassador and with the English Government, whose blockade would have to be modified to permit the importation of relief supplies into Belgium.

THE AMERICAN COMMISSION

During the early days of the war an American committee in London had given excellent service in helping American citizens escape from the plight into which the outbreak of hostilities had plunged them. This committee now became the nucleus of a new and greater organization which assumed the title of "Commission for Relief in Belgium."



Photo by W. C. Edgar, of Minneapolis

PREPARING THE CITY'S SOUP

In order to give the commission an international character, diplomatic representatives of several neutral countries were added to its membership, including American and Spanish diplomatic representatives in Holland, Belgium, and Germany. From the first, however, the direction of the work of the commission was wholly in American hands. Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, an American engineer from California, residing in London, who had been chairman of the executive committee

of the original committee created to help Americans, was appointed chairman of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. Mr. Hoover has devoted his entire time and his unusual organizing and directing ability to the commission without financial remuneration. The same is true of other members of the commission.

METHOD OF DELIVERING SUPPLIES

It is unnecessary here to describe in detail the patient and skilful manner in which the full scheme of operation was gradually hammered into a balanced, cohesive and smoothly running organization. The British Government consented to allow relief supplies to go into Belgium when carried on ships which contained no other cargo, and which flew the special flag of the Commission. The operative arrangement between the Commission and the Belgian National Committee was that the Commission would collect supplies by gift or purchase in any part of the world, would transport them under its flag to Rotterdam in Holland, and would there transfer the cargoes to canal boats or railway cars which would be sent into Belgium.

A sub-office of the Commission in Rotterdam was to have charge of the receipt of cargoes, their transfer to boats and cars and their shipment to destination. Another sub-office in Brussels was to supervise the receipt and distribution of the supplies in Belgium. The Brussels office was extremely important, because the British Government and the contributors of money and supplies relied upon its vigilance to safeguard the supplies from



Photo by W. C. Edgar, of Minneapolis

GIVING OUT THE DAY'S RATIONS

seizure by the German authorities or from waste or damage through incompetent or dishonest management, and because the German authorities, on the other hand, relied upon it to see that the cargoes contained no improper or forbidden goods and that they were not used to help the Belgian army or to support any unfriendly movement against the Germans. On its part, the Belgian National Committee was to have charge and direction of the actual distribution of supplies, the allotments to the several provincial and communal committees, the fixing of prices, the sale of foodstuffs, and the accounting for proceeds.

PRINCIPAL COST BORNE BY BELGIUM

It is doubtful whether the world understands that Belgium, through her government and her people, has borne the chief financial burden of the work of relief. A fund of \$3,000,000 was provided by a group of Belgian bankers and given to the Commission for Relief in Belgium, to be expended solely for the chartering of ships in which to bring wheat or flour from the United States and other countries. The Belgian Government has regularly appropriated \$5,000,000 each month to be expended by the Commission in the purchase of grain, flour and other foods. This contribution is not an outright gift to the Commission, although in effect it accomplishes the purpose of a gift. The government of Belgium, ever since the war began, has continued to pay the salaries and wages of a very large number of government employees. Some of these employees have con-

tinued to perform the duties for which they are paid, such as burgomasters and other city and communal officials, school-teachers, etc., while some are idle because of the German occupation of the country. The money for the payment of these employees is not delivered directly to them by the government; in fact, the government has no direct channel through which it could make payment. It is, therefore, paid over to the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which buys relief supplies with it. The supplies are sent into Belgium where they are distributed; not given away, but sold. Proceeds of the sale are paid to the communes, and the communal officers then pay the salaries and wages of the government employees. The entire transaction is somewhat like the operation of a water-wheel. The water drives the wheel in passing, but is not reduced in quantity by the service which it gives.

TWO-THIRDS OF THE PEOPLE PAY FOR BREAD

While the entire population of Belgium, approximating 7,000,000 persons, obtains its bread solely from the supplies imported by the Commission for Relief in Belgium, only about one-third of the distribution is gratuitous. About 4,500,000 persons pay for the bread which they receive, while about 2,500,000 are unable to pay. Approximately 80,000 tons of wheat or flour are required each month to supply the entire country. At the beginning of the work, last fall, the cost of wheat purchased in the United States and delivered in Belgium was approximately \$60 per ton. Later the price of wheat rapidly increased, while the charges for transportation by ship through the dangerous waters of

the English Channel, and the cost of insurance, doubled and trebled.

By the middle of the winter of 1914-15, the cost to the Commission, of wheat delivered in Belgium, had risen almost to \$100 per ton. Thus, the monthly expenditure climbed rapidly from about \$5,000,000 to about \$8,000,000; then, toward the summer of 1915, it dropped back again as the price of wheat declined. It will be seen that the sale of bread in Belgium has not been sufficient to meet the cost of the entire work. The value of the bread given away to 2,500,000 persons is, roughly, the measure of the actual gift of food required from the United States and other countries. This has varied with the changing prices and has ranged from approximately \$1,800,000 to \$2,500,000 per month. It will be understood that this amount has not all been given in cash. Much the greater part of it, in fact, has been given in the form of wheat or flour, collected by special State or community efforts in the United States. With these efforts the public is familiar, for never has so vast and universal a helpful movement been witnessed in this country as that brought into existence by the tide of sympathy for Belgium.

THE DISTRIBUTING MACHINERY AT WORK

A concrete illustration of the relief work as actually carried on may give coherence to this description, and will explain certain operations which have not yet been mentioned in this article.

When the Commission for Relief in Belgium was formed, the Rockefeller Foundation, of New York, decided to contribute a cargo of grain. It chartered the steamer

Massapequa and quickly loaded it with approximately 4000 tons of wheat. In due time the *Massapequa* reached the English Channel where she unfurled the special flag necessary to identify her as a relief ship entitled to pass unmolested through the waters of the war area. This flag was a great white square bearing in conspicuous characters the words "Commission for Relief in Belgium." Streamers also decorated the rails along both sides of the hull. Her character being thus established, she was not molested by either English or



A GROUP OF AMERICAN RHODES SCHOLARS WHO ASSISTED IN THE RELIEF WORK



A DINING HALL FOR THE CHILDREN

German war vessels, but safely arrived at Rotterdam, although her captain passed many anxious hours because of floating mines. In Rotterdam the *Massapequa* was placed in the hands of the representatives of the Commission, who had been notified by wireless of her coming and had a force of men ready to discharge her cargo. A fleet of canal barges was in waiting, and by means of huge cranes the wheat was swiftly transferred to the smaller craft. Dutch customs officers were on hand to see that no forbidden goods were included.

When the transfer was completed, the barges, each flying the Commission's flag, set out by inland waterways toward Brussels. German authorities in Belgium gave the boats free passage and expedited their movements. When the wheat reached Brussels it was sent to a mill at Vilvorde, a suburb, where it was ground into a light brown flour. Only 10 per cent. of the bulk of the grain was extracted in the form of bran, whereas in the fine white flour, commonly used in the United States, from 20 to 30 per cent. of the bulk of the wheat is extracted. The flour was delivered to the National Belgian Relief Committee, and by it loaded into many barges and sent in all directions through Belgium's remarkable canal system to different sections of the country.

One of these barges, we will say, went to Hasselt. At Hasselt the flour was placed in a warehouse in charge of an agent of the Commission for Relief in Belgium and by

him was issued, on requisitions of the Communal Committees of the National Belgian Relief Committee in that vicinity. The committee of each commune is composed, in part, of the officers of the commune, and the official machinery of the commune is used in the proper distribution of the relief supplies. Following the travels of the *Massapequa* cargo, we find that each commune which drew its supply of flour from the warehouse at Hasselt, delivered the flour to one or more bakers who baked it into loaves of bread of a certain uniform weight, as determined by the National Committee.

Each baker was given a list of the persons to whom he was authorized to deliver bread and the amount to which each family was entitled and was required to account to the Communal Committee for all the flour entrusted to him. The Communal Committee investigated conditions among the people of the commune and issued to them tickets, which entitled them to go to a designated baker and obtain each day the amount of bread indicated on the face of the tickets. To some families the committee sold tickets, to some tickets were given, according to the financial resources of each as shown by the committee's investigation.

From this description of the method of relief administration, certain details of accounting for funds, received and expended, have been omitted for the sake of simplicity, but the plan of distribution in its essentials, in every part of Belgium, is substantially that

followed in disposing of the cargo of the *Massapequa*.

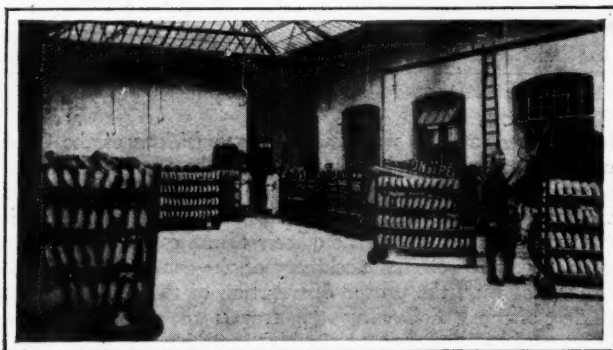
In many communes food stations, commonly known as "soup kitchens" are maintained. At these the poor receive rations of a thick, nutritious soup at a certain hour each day. Committees which maintain "soup kitchens" usually make daily distribution of bread to the destitute from the kitchens, while only those who can pay obtain bread from the bakers. In Brussels many soup kitchens are maintained, and the manner in which they are organized and managed, with a great central establishment in which all the soup is made under the direction of a famous chef, and is delivered steaming hot to the distributing places by swiftly driven wagons, is an excellent illustration of Belgian ability

balance their conduct and their expressions in such a manner as to maintain the respect and good-will of both conquered and conqueror.

CLOTHING FROM AMERICA

In connection with the collection of money and food supplies in the United States and Canada, a large quantity of clothing was contributed and sent to Rotterdam with the cargoes of grain and flour. For the purpose of making a proper distribution of this contribution a special organization was created. As the clothing arrived in Rotterdam it was transferred to warehouses which were established and maintained by the Rockefeller Foundation War Relief Commission. Here it was unpacked, sorted, classified, repacked in convenient form for distribution and forwarded, chiefly to the Belgian National Committee in Brussels, though sufficient was retained for distribution among Belgian refugees in Holland.

The Belgian National Committee established a warehouse for clothing in Brussels and gave employment at small wages to hundreds of women in making over, repairing and otherwise adapting the worn clothing from Amer-



A BAKERY STORE ROOM

ica, to the customs and needs of Belgian women and children. An idea of the volume of this inflow of clothing from America may be gained from the statement that in the five months of January to May, inclusive, 23,169 cases were packed and contents indexed in the warehouses at Rotterdam. After all useless material had been excluded, there were forwarded for distribution among Belgians in Belgium and Holland 2,019,763 articles of clothing, including garments for men, women, and children.

Supervision of the distribution in Belgium was required by both German and British governments to be by Americans. For a time considerable difficulty was experienced in finding active, intelligent young Americans for this service, until the idea came to Mr. Hoover to draw upon the American Rhodes Scholars in English universities. Many of the students received the suggestion with enthusiasm; and, with the permission of the university authorities, about thirty went to Belgium, where most of them acquitted themselves with credit. The work requires not alone vigilance and accuracy, but judgment and tact as well, for the Americans must

balance their conduct and their expressions in such a manner as to maintain the respect and good-will of both conquered and conqueror.

THE EVIL OF IDLENESS

As a direct result of the paralysis of normal industry and the provision of food and clothing for the Belgian people without effort or obligation on their part, a gigantic problem of idleness arose. It is a truism that idleness makes for physical and moral decay, and it is scarcely to be expected that the prolonged idleness of the majority of the entire population of Belgium can fail to affect injuriously many of the people of that country.

In numerous communities little had been done toward clearing away the ruins of the burned houses six months after their destruction, although the people were on the ground and engaged in nothing more absorbing than drawing their supplies of food from the relief committees. In those communities in which no destruction of buildings had occurred, much employment might have been found in mending roads, repairing canal dikes, clearing the canals of wreckage of broken bridges, etc. A general fear existed that any public works which might be undertaken would prove to be of benefit to the Germans, and for that reason the idea was regarded with disfavor. Owners of houses which had been damaged hesitated to rebuild them because, as they said, the German armies to the west of them would soon be driven back across Belgium and would again destroy all that had been done to repair the results of their previous operations. This attitude of mind seemed to be shared by leading men and by the Belgian Government itself.

AN INDUSTRIAL EXPERIMENT IN HOLLAND

In the Belgian refugee camps in Holland, where there was little opportunity for labor, the effects of prolonged idleness were unmistakable. In January, 1915, the camps, equipped and maintained by the Dutch Government, contained a population of approximately 150,000 persons. These people had fled from Belgium in August and had brought no warm clothing. As winter came on they suffered severely from cold and exposure. When the "second-hand" clothing began to arrive from America their condition was greatly ameliorated, but there was an almost total lack of underwear, and the clothing from America did not include wearable underclothing except in small quantities. When the Rockefeller Foundation War Relief Commission inspected some of the camps its attention was strongly attracted to two obvious facts:

First, The refugees were suffering intensely for lack of warm underclothing, a need which local volunteer Dutch committees were unable to meet. Instances of disease due to exposure were numerous, and the mortality among infants in the camps was abnormally high, as a result of the same cause.

Second, universal idleness was undermining the energy and character of the refugees. They were becoming discontented and quarrelsome, and were disinclined to discharge the

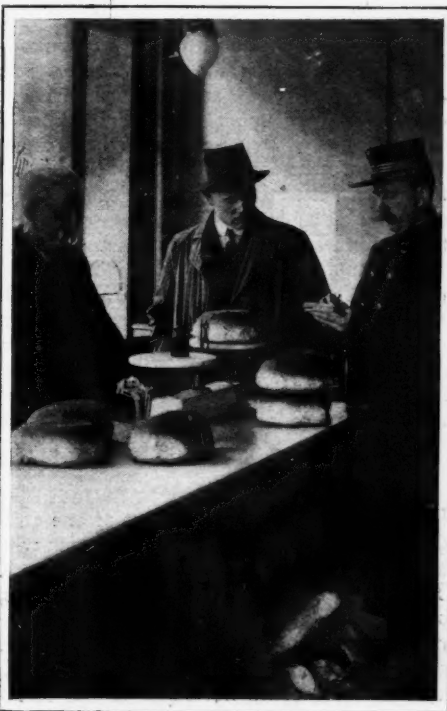


Photo by W. C. Edgar, of Minneapolis

INSPECTING A BAKER'S LOAVES

simple duties which could be given to them, such as making beds, cleaning quarters, helping to prepare food, etc. Managers of the camps complained of the continual bickering of the women about their children, their accommodations, their discomforts.

Following this inspection of refugee camps the War Relief Commission proposed to the management of a small camp in Rotterdam that an experiment be tried in giving the women of that camp an opportunity for employment at manufacturing underclothing and stockings for the use of their own families and of their fellow refugees. A meeting of all the women in the camp was held in the big dining-hall, and when the plan was explained the response was pathetically enthusiastic. The women who said they could use sewing machines were first listed and then those who said they could not use machines, but could sew by hand or could knit.

The War Relief Commission proposed to the camp management that if a suitable room were provided the Commission would provide sewing machines, cloth and findings, woolen yarn for stockings and would employ a capable woman as directress. The offer was accepted and the following day thirty sewing

machines were installed, a supply of materials was purchased and the work began. Among the refugees in the camp a dressmaker from Antwerp was found and was employed to direct the work under the supervision of a committee of Dutch women of Rotterdam.

All concerned were astonished at the transformation which the camp experienced. The new interest and the opportunity to provide their families and others with warm underwear completely changed the spirit of the place. Discipline, which had been a difficult and thankless task, suddenly became an unimportant detail, so far as the women were concerned. The change affected the men also; for the occupation of the women removed many of the sources of friction and gossip among the male inmates of the camp.

As a stimulus to the women the War Relief Commission gave a bonus of one guilder (forty cents) a week to each woman who had worked a required number of hours. This payment was not regarded as wages, because, as was explained, the refugees were receiving free of cost their board and shelter and the garments which were manufactured, and therefore could not fairly expect to receive wages.

When this experiment had been in successful operation for some days, the members of the War Relief Commission, accompanied by Dr. Henry van Dyke, the American Minister at The Hague, called upon the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs and explained what had been done. As the Belgian refugees were all under the protection and guardianship of the Dutch Government, it was essential that the experiment should have the approval of the governmental authorities. The Foreign Minister was much interested and expressed the hope that the work might be expanded. A little later the Minister of the Interior, within whose jurisdiction the care of refugees lies, cordially approved the plans which were laid before him and appointed a national commission to cooperate with the Rockefeller Foundation War Relief Commission.

Under the operation of this arrangement the government provided suitable quarters in the various camps, for the accommodation of the employed groups of women. Managers of the camps everywhere welcomed the extension of the industry. Eventually the experiment was carried into thirty-five camps. More than 4000 women were given employment. The number of pieces of underwear completed and distributed was 101,000, while

the knitting women produced 54,000 pairs of stockings and socks.

At the beginning of June the War Relief commission withdrew. All the refugees had been comfortably supplied with clothing, summer made it possible for them to spend much time in the open air, and the commission believed that the Belgians should be encouraged to return to their own country, where most of their compatriots had remained and were living in approximately normal surroundings and where opportunities existed for employment in repairing the damages of war. It seemed to the commission unwise to maintain any enterprise which tended to prolong the abnormal life of the camps.

HOLLAND'S NOBLE ATTITUDE

With this position the Dutch Government was not in entire accord; and despite the fact that it was expending millions from its straining treasury in the most generous care of the refugees, it declined to take any steps toward persuading the refugees to return home. Its hospitality was not to be measured by the cost. In withdrawing from Holland, therefore, the War Relief Commission transferred the direction and maintenance of the industrial work to the government, which desired its continuance. As a last evidence of the good-will of the War Relief Commission toward the Dutch authorities, it purchased outright 500 sewing machines which it had previously used under rental, and turned them over to the government for continuing use in the camps.

An observer who had the best of opportunities to gauge the value of this experiment has written of it as follows:

Those who met in these classes felt that they were engaged in useful work. They could see the result and share in the product. They felt that they were working for their country. It was a common thing, on entering a sewing class, to hear a hundred or more girls and women singing the Belgian Lion. Few visitors could face such a roomful, with all which it represented on the one hand of exile and suffering, and on the other, of sympathy and international good will, without deep emotion. The work has fully justified itself. The most sanguine expectations have been fulfilled. The women and girls have taken up the work willingly. The sewing and knitting classes have been genuine social centers. They have counteracted the demoralizing influence of refugee life. They have promoted happiness and contentment. They have brought about relations of friendship between Dutch ladies and Belgian girls peculiarly in need of friendly guidance and help. They have been both an educational and a moral influence.

Duty and inclination require that a word be said here of the part which the Dutch



PUTTING UP PACKAGES TO BE SENT TO THE PROVINCES

people and government have taken in the care of the Belgian refugees. It is unnecessary to look to the countries at war for examples of uncomplaining courage, of sacrifice, of devotion to country, of noble spirit. The story of Holland during this period of stress and anxiety is illuminated by the pervading presence of all those qualities. Bereft of most of her commerce, her factories closed, her army mobilized at tremendous cost, her people taxed perhaps as never before, she threw open her doors to a million Belgians fleeing in fear, took them into her private homes, or provided shelter and food in great camps erected at vast expense for that sole purpose, and has borne the burden graciously, uncomplainingly, for more than a year. The load has gradually decreased as the refugees have returned to Belgium or have gone to England, but Holland to-day is probably providing all the necessities of life,—shelter, food, clothing,—for 100,000 refugees. And still she smiles and holds out her arms in welcome to all who come.

WHAT IS NEEDED THIS WINTER

A word concerning the immediate future in Belgium:

The industrial and commercial paralysis which, with the invasion, plunged the entire country into idleness, still prevails. Some

small activities have gradually come back to life and agriculture has been revived, but Belgium is primarily an industrial country and her workmen are unemployed. As this stagnation continues, the resources of the people are becoming exhausted and the number of dependents upon charity steadily increases. Almost one-third of the total population is now unable to buy its food and clothing.

With unabated courage the Commission for Relief in Belgium has gone forward with its gigantic task of benevolence. By means of the remarkable economic and financial measures which have characterized its operations, it has worked out a program for the coming winter which promises to provide the prime essentials of foodstuffs, but it is relying chiefly upon the generosity of the United States for the necessary clothing. The great supply of clothing contributed last winter is exhausted. As a means of employment, it seems wise to send materials for clothing rather than the made-up garments. The successful experiment of last winter, by which idle Belgian refugees in Holland were given wholesome employment in making clothing for themselves, has been put into operation on a much enlarged scale in Belgium. By this means the evil effects of idleness may be to some extent overcome and a large group of people given a chance for self-support.

THE BULGARIANS AND THEIR COUNTRY

BY OLIVER BAINBRIDGE

[Bulgaria, by reason of her recent entrance as a participant in the great war, has created fresh interest in the people and conditions of that country. The remarkable progress made by the Bulgarians in the last third of a century is set forth in the following article. The writer, Mr. Bainbridge, is an experienced traveler and the author of "India of To-Day," "The Heart of China," and other works. His favorable observations on Bulgaria and its people coincide with those of other eminent travelers and students of world conditions.—THE EDITOR.]

THE advanced state of democracy attained in Bulgaria proves that centuries of tyranny have not unfitted the Bulgars for self-government. All lovers of freedom are delighted with the prudence they have shown and the enormous success which has attended their efforts. A million and a quarter sterling over expenditure during the first eleven years of their independence speaks well for their financial administration. They have a single chamber, known as the Sobranje, the members of which are elected by universal manhood suffrage. The assent of the Czar is required for all laws passed by the Sobranje. Eight Ministers, who are nominated by and are responsible to the Czar, form a Council in which the executive power is vested.

THE CZAR AND THE CZARITSA

The Czar is the constitutional head of the State, the real power being in the people. The State is divided into twelve districts, at the head of which there is a Prefect who is appointed by the Czar on the recommendation of the Minister of the Interior.

The Czar Ferdinand who is highly distinguished for the penetration of his intellect, has made Bulgaria. Those who know the inside history of that country during the

last twenty-eight years will agree that he has built it up commercially, attracted money to it for railroads and industrial development, and administered its finances as ably as he administers his own private fortune.

During the conversations which I have had with his Majesty I was impressed with that

sanguine temperament, that spirit of self-reliance, that fearless determination which has enabled him to transform Bulgaria from a condition of weakness and poverty into a progressive and flourishing country.

The Czar has been ably assisted during the last seven years by the Czaritsa Eleonore, the royal Florence Nightingale, who has taught us that the first element

of true culture is utility, and that we should think more of others and less of ourselves. During the two Balkan wars she traveled incognito over the lines of transport to see the wounded accommodated, and, whenever possible, helped in the operating-room, where her gentle presence cheered and encouraged the sufferers.

Her Majesty told me, with much amusement, that some of the peasants, who are anything but paragons of cleanliness, were little pleased with her efforts to inculcate ideas of sanitation, and referred to her as "that meddling nurse up at the Palace."



CZAR FERDINAND AND THE CZARITSA ELEONORE



BULGARIANS IN THEIR "BEST CLOTHES," WITH EMBROIDERED SHEEPSKINS AND LACE PETTICOATS
(They are about to engage in their native "Belt Dance")

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

The moment Bulgaria attained her independence she instituted a system of free and compulsory education, for she knew that it was the basis of national destiny, and when we remember that the Bulgarian peasantry depend upon the help of their own families to till their farms we can form a faint idea of the sacrifices they make in order to send their children to school. There are agricultural schools to which model farms are attached at Sardovo and at Roustchouk, while at Philippopolis there is a school open to young men who wish to take up fruit growing. Priests and village schoolmasters are compelled to take a course in agriculture. Students, when they travel separately on the railways, are allowed a reduction of 50 per cent. on the price of the ordinary ticket, and when they travel in parties of ten or more, and are accompanied by one of their teachers, they are allowed a reduction of 75 per cent. The railways are State property and are under State management. If we take into account the new lines in course of construction and the others that are planned, Bulgaria has more lines of railway than Serbia, Greece, and Turkey put together.

The adolescent University of Sofia has

three faculties—History and Philology, Physics and Mathematics, and Law. It is attended by 2,000 students, of whom 300 are women, and there are 60 professors and lecturers. The 5,450 educational institutions in Bulgaria, which include some of the finest high school buildings in the world, have a staff of 13,500 teachers and are attended by 530,000 students,—315,000 boys and 215,000 girls. I was much surprised with the attention and the intelligence of the students, each one of whom seemed to be imbued with the magnificent idea that they must build their character for themselves, and the State is rendering an incomparable service by enabling them to build it upon firm foundations and with enduring materials.

There are national libraries at Sofia and Philippopolis and over one thousand reading-rooms throughout the State. In the important centres they have courses of public lectures, which are always greeted with large and enthusiastic audiences.

AN AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY

Bulgaria is preëminently an agricultural country. Out of a population of nearly five millions, about three millions are engaged in cultivating their own farms, which

rarely ever exceed six or seven acres. They have fixity of tenure, paying one-tenth of the gross produce by way of rent, which seems a most cumbersome system. The government is theoretically the owner of the land, and can resume possession in the event of the holder not being able to pay his tithe. The Agricultural Bank, which has many branches and agencies throughout Bulgaria, has met with the greatest success. It not only advances sums to farmers to buy cattle, seeds and agricultural implements, but very often does the buying for them.

The grains cultivated are wheat, maize, barley, rye, oats, rice, and millet. The principal industrial plants are tobacco, roses, and beetroot. I was particularly interested in the rose crop, for I had often heard of the famous Bulgarian *Atta* made from the red and white roses gathered in the gardens of *Kazanlik*, *Karlovo*, *Klissoura*, and *Starazagora*. It takes a ton and a half of roses to make a pound of oil, which is obtained after three distillations. It is a deep golden color, and the odor is so pungent that it produces a sense of giddiness. The oil is placed in leaden bottles and sent to the perfume emporiums in Paris and London, where it is used to form the basis of a thousand different scents. The girls who gather the roses make jam and syrup from the petals, which are very delicious, but a trifle too sweet for my Western palate.

There is not a high standard of comfort among these simple peasant farmers, whose clothing is homespun and whose footgear is made of the pelts from which the wool is taken. Even the more well-to-do are content to live in plainly furnished cottages with mud floors.

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

The Bulgarians have a firm idea of right and wrong. If a man is asked to do anything which is not approved by the master of his soul, he only says, "I cannot,—it would be shame." He cannot tell you why it would be shame; he knows that he would suffer, and he does not trouble himself with complex explanations. It is this mold of thought which influences the whole current of life and movement in Bulgaria. And it is because they have made God their partner they have been able to give us such lessons in courage and self-sacrifice, and show that noble toleration of religions other than their own, Mohammedans, Greeks, Jews, Roman Catholics, Armenians, and Protestants all enjoy complete religious freedom in Bulga-

ria. The national faith is that of the Orthodox Bulgarian Church, which is governed by the Synod of Bishops under the Presidency of an Exarch. The late Exarch Joseph was one of the greatest men of modern Bulgaria. He guided the destinies of the Church for the last thirty years with such tact and courage that all Bulgarians were drawn to him in an attitude of respectful affection.

His Beatitude, who received me at the Palace of the Holy Synod, impressed me as a man who had accustomed himself to the thoughtful and quiet study of human nature, as well as having a wide experience in politics, which I think is amply revealed by the intellectual and material progress made by the Bulgarians in Macedonia. When I mentioned some of the charges that the Balkan States had made to me against one another, he said: "I am afraid, Mr. Bainbridge, that you will find the deviation from truthfulness has not been sufficiently guarded against."

The Exarch and bishops are chosen for life by secret ballot in which laymen are permitted to cast their vote as well as the clergy. The ecclesiastical authorities exercise complete jurisdiction over all matters pertaining to marriage and divorce.

LOVE, MARRIAGE, AND HOME LIFE

In this country, according to the canonical laws, the legal age for contracting marriage is fixed at nineteen years for boys and seventeen years for girls. The Bulgarians are generous lovers who trust as fully as they love. They realize that there must be much in another's life which they cannot know and cannot share, however closely it may be bound with their own, and they are willing and glad to accord it perfect freedom. Relying on its character and confiding in its love, they put it to no test, they seek for no fresh proofs, they demand no signs to confirm it nor evidences to verify it. They give freely of the wealth of love in their own hearts, but they never bargain or pause to consider whether they receive the full price of the love they pour out. Yet it is to them that the full measure of affection is given, "pressed down, shaken together, running over." Demanding nothing, exacting nothing, they receive abundantly; while they who are ever grasping lose all.

Bulgarian women, who present a charming picture in their white head-dresses, short embroidered kirtles and lace petticoats, do not indulge in flirtation, which is the intermedi-

ary between companionship and courtship and a mockery of both. They believe the secret chambers of the heart are too sacred for the imps of flirtation to gambol in or to be subjected to trifling.

The Bulgarians, even if they have to struggle hard, lead a life which is almost ideally happy. The great thing which gives happiness is mutual confidence, and, when we see man and wife exhibiting quiet and mutually respectful familiarity, we may be fairly certain that they are to be looked on as most fortunate in the world.

Divorce is very rare in Bulgaria, where it may be obtained on several grounds. It delights me to be able to state that parties who have been found guilty of adultery are not allowed to marry their accomplices, and if we in the West would adopt this very wise law and punish these home-wreckers a disgusting blot would be removed from the brow of our civilization.

A STRONG AND HEALTHY RACE

The pure life led by the Bulgarians accounts for them being such a strong and healthy race. Mr. G. Aird Whyte, of Edinburgh, who spent several months with a medical mission in the Balkans, in writing to me says that "physically they are in many ways superior to other nations. They have a sound constitution and lack the 'nervous system,' so that there were few cases of collapse in our hospitals. I came across only

one case of vomiting after chloroform of all the cases that passed through our operating theatre at Mustapha Pasha. Out of nearly two thousand men who passed through the hospital, with the exception of those who had emigrated and returned to fight, only two had bad teeth—a good index of the general health of a nation. Out of the same number of cases there was one suspected of a venereal disease."

SOFIA, THE CAPITAL

No city in the East has undergone such a magic transformation as Sofia. Prior to the emancipation of the Bulgars it was a small Turkish town of 20,000, with narrow, dirty streets. There was practically no trade and the people were in a hideous state of poverty. The city which has now risen up has a population of about 125,000 and is rapidly becoming one of the best in Eastern Europe. Architecturally it has far more claims to respect than is at first apparent. The streets, which are well paved and beautifully clean, are too narrow for the adequate display of the fine proportions of the Czar's palace, the National Theatre, the General Post Office, the War Office, the Bulgarian National Bank, the William Gladstone High School for Boys, the Grand Hotel de Bulgarie, the National Agricultural Bank, the Sobranje, and many other public buildings which are of fine sandstone. The ecclesiastical edifices are of remarkable beauty, especially the new cathedral.



A STREET SCENE IN MODERN SOFIA

"SPEEDING THE SILVER BULLETS"

GREAT BRITAIN'S PROBLEMS OF WAR FINANCE AND WAR ECONOMY, AND
HOW MR. MCKENNA IS MEETING THEM

BY LEWIS R. FREEMAN

"EACH one of you has silver bullets in your pockets which will help to stop the Germans."

The phrase was Lloyd George's, and it was also he who, as Chancellor of the Exchequer during the opening months of the war, fired the first tentative volleys of "silver bullets." But the sustained bombardment,—the "hurricane fire" as it is swiftly becoming,—was left to be directed by the Honorable Reginald McKenna, who succeeded to the Chancellorship when, in May last, Lloyd George was called to the head of the new Ministry of Munitions and set to speeding the bullets of steel.

The task the former Chancellor of the Exchequer left behind him was scarcely less appalling in its baffling immensity,—it had now become an economic as well as a financial problem,—than the one to which he went. And the story of the firm-handed, clear-headed way in which it has been taken up and put on the road to fulfillment is also the story of how a cabinet minister who had never attained to anything approaching popularity,—whose resignation, indeed, had not long before been clamored for by a not incon-

siderable section of the press and public,—became in an hour,—in an hour and fifteen minutes, to be exact,—one of the most acclaimed and trusted men in England.

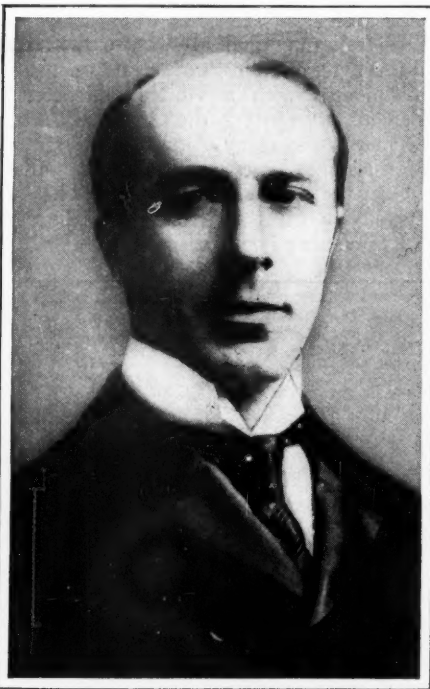
ENGLAND'S RELUCTANCE TO TAX HERSELF

Britain's first financial measures, like her military, were calculated only to tide over the chaos which followed the outbreak of

hostilities. The war would be over by Christmas, so most members of the government appeared to think; and definite plans for defraying its cost could be taken up in the piping times of peace to follow, when men and nations had regained their proper perspective. Increased taxes were imposed on tea, tobacco, spirits, and a few other things; but the main dependence was placed upon a loan of \$1,750,000,000 raised in the early winter.

Even by spring-time the grim reality of the war, which was gripping the other belligerents by the throat, had been so little felt in England that the government was

still in a temporizing mood when another budget was presented in May. Even Lloyd George, clear-sighted as he had proved himself to be in forecasting the need of munitions,



Photograph by American Press Association, New York
THE HONORABLE REGINALD MCKENNA, BRITAIN'S
CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

was reluctant to grasp the nettle firmly by imposing fresh taxes. There was a chance of peace by fall, it was urged at this time, and it would be wisest to tide over the interval with another loan.

Almost immediately following the presentation of his May budget, Lloyd George was transferred to the new Ministry of Munitions; and the task not only of raising the new war loan but of finally facing the long-deferred taxation problem as well, fell to Mr. McKenna, who, in spite of a rather troublous tenure of the Home Secretaryship, was deemed the best man available for the vacated portfolio. How fortunate an appointment it was probably very few even of the new Chancellor's greatest admirers realized at the time.

FLOATING THE GREATEST LOAN IN HISTORY

The work of raising the new war loan,—amounting though it did to more than \$3,000,000,000,—was a simple one compared to the fixing of the new taxes. Britons of the present generation have been loaning or investing money all their lives, the most striking evidence of which perhaps is the fact that \$20,000,000,000 worth of foreign securities are estimated to be held by the canny inhabitants of the tight little island. It was not necessary to "stage" the loan by a long interval of public preparation as has always been done in Germany, and was, to a certain degree, done in the case of the flotation of the recent Anglo-French loan in the United States.

The mere announcement that during a couple of the early weeks of July unlimited subscriptions to a loan to bear the unprecedented interest of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. would be received was sufficient. With a careless gesture the British moneyed interests,—mostly banks and insurance companies,—coolly tossed \$2,900,000,000 into the war hat and went on about their business, while the general public,—stimulated by a well-planned poster campaign,—brought the total up to and beyond even figures by buying vouchers ranging in amounts from \$1.25 to \$25. "This beats the old Consols all hollow," everyone said, and intimated that there was plenty more money to be had when further need should arise. What up to that time was the greatest loan in history was floated with less effort and excitement than those accompanying the opening of the subscription list of a wild-cat company in an Oklahoma or California oil boom. It was a remarkable financial achievement.

Dec.—6

JOHN BULL FINALLY "TAKES HIS BIT"

But in spite of the ease with which it now seemed probable that the money to finance the war for an indefinite period could be raised, there was a growing feeling in England that the time had come to "pay." Something of the magnitude of the work ahead had at last begun to come home to the British people. Men no longer spoke of "the end of the war" as something the date for which could be definitely or even approximately fixed, but rather as an eventuation of the dim and distant future, like the millennium. A "war consciousness," and with it a commensurate "war responsibility," was developing. "We can't leave it all to be shouldered by posterity," men began saying. "We've got to take our own bit, and no time will be so favorable for taxation as the years of abnormal prosperity during and immediately following the war itself. Slap on your taxes. We're ready for them. Only distribute them fairly over all classes and we won't complain."

To allot equitably the burden of a greatly augmented taxation,—that, in a word, was the apparently simple but really incalculably complex task which was set for Mr. McKenna.

To distribute the taxes fairly was a sufficiently difficult problem in itself; to persuade a jealous and highly self-conscious working class, which was already breaking or threatening to break into incipient strikes on the most trivial pretexts, that it was a fair distribution seemed almost too much to hope for. Moreover, the striking changes which had taken place in England during the fourteen months of the war made it imperative that the new taxes should endeavor to accomplish certain economic as well as financial ends. A brief explanation of what these changes were will help to an understanding of the problem which confronted the new Chancellor of the Exchequer.

INCREASED DEMAND FOR LABOR,—HIGHER WAGES

One of the immediate effects of the war was a great improvement in the condition of the English workers of all classes. Unemployment,—the insidious cancer that had been eating deeper and deeper toward the heart of the British social system for years,—was put an end to almost in a night. There was an immense deal more work to do, and, with the recruiting of between two and three million soldiers, fewer hands to do it. The organ-grinder and the vender of useless

trinkets disappeared from the streets. Boys and women took the place of men. Girls those of boys and women. The almshouses poured out all in possession of their working faculties; men and women of leisure turned their hands to "war work," and still the supply was short.

Then wages began advancing. Unskilled workers received two and three times as much as they had been able to command before the war; artisans from three to four times as much. The consequence of this was that the greater part of the workers of England were earning more, and, in spite of the considerably increased cost of living, had more to spend, than ever in their lives before. That they should spend, and spend freely, was naturally to be expected; nor was it entirely undesirable that a certain amount of their earnings should go into circulation again in the purchase of domestic products. Unfortunately the main drift of the new spending was not for better food and more comfortable quarters, badly as these were needed in most instances, but for luxuries, and foreign luxuries at that.

IMPORTING FOREIGN LUXURIES

The chirp of the cuckoo clock began echoing in the tenements of Newcastle and Birmingham; the coster maid of Shoreditch added another six inches to her inevitable ostrich plume; the cinema theaters,—95 per cent. of whose films came from California,—were packed to suffocation, and the whine of the American-made phonograph was heard from Land's End to John o' Groat. Also, there came to be seen in startlingly increasing numbers American motor-cycles and what the ultra-patriotic Britisher is wont to call "the cheap Yankee automobile."

There was no complaint regarding the quality of these goods, but there was, and very justly, an outcry against the purchase of unnecessary foreign articles at a time when the curtailment of British manufacture for export conspired with the rapidly increasing purchases of munitions in America to create a tremendous trade balance against England. That this trouble was actual as well as apparent was evident from the trade returns covering the first year of the war, which showed that the importation of foreign luxuries was much greater than during the previous year of peace. The demand, therefore, was that the new taxes should, besides increasing the current revenue as much as possible, aim also to restrict the consumption of foreign luxuries at a time when the

American exchange was daily sagging lower and lower as a consequence of the mounting trade balance against Great Britain.

THE SEPTEMBER WAR BUDGET

With these ends in view Mr. McKenna, in the intervals of dispensing the money from the latest war loan at a rate which rose from \$15,000,000 a day in the early part of July to \$20,000,000 a day a couple of months later, figured and consulted, and figured and consulted, until the end of September, the country meanwhile bracing itself to take up the new burden as a stout-hearted pack-horse stiffens his knees against a further addition to an already heavy burden. "We've asked to be taxed," the people said; "and we're ready to put up with whatever is necessary. Only please hurry up and let us know the worst as soon as you can." The Chancellor announced that the budget would be ready to present to Parliament shortly after it assembled in the middle of September.

The scant 120 seats in the little visitors' gallery of the House of Commons were applied for many times over for the afternoon on which the budget was to be read, and as far as possible these were allotted to those most vitally interested in the measures in hand. Most of the great financial and industrial kings of Britain fidgeted on the nar-



A STAR TURN—THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EX-CHEQUER
From *Punch* (London)

row benches, and the majority of these, with budget speeches of the past in mind, had made arrangements to have tea, and dinner, and even supper served them in the House. Several had prepared to stick it out on chocolate so as not to miss even a quarter of an hour of the fateful pronouncement.

"Question Time,"—the hour in which the humble M. P. is allowed to prove his devotion to his constituents by "heckling" the mighty cabinet minister,—passed off perfunctorily, and about four o'clock a well-set-up, middle-sized man with a bald head, a clear eye and a distinctly pleasant face stood up by the long center table and began to talk. Now he spoke of shillings and pence, and even farthings; again of millions, and hundreds of millions and,—once or twice,—of thousands of millions of pounds. Now he was explanatory, now expository, now calculative; never was he oratorical. His eloquence,—for eloquence of a kind there was,—found expression in figures of estimate rather than figures of speech. For seventy-five minutes he spoke,—marshalling facts and figures and their corollaries,—and then sat down. Thus did Mr. McKenna present the epochal war budget of the fall of 1915.

TAX DISTRIBUTION THAT MET WITH APPROVAL

Former Chancellors of the Exchequer had always talked for an hour or two or three before getting down to business, and a number of distinguished bankers, not unnaturally anticipating an even longer period of "first-lies" and "second-lies" on this momentous occasion, did not arrive at the House of Commons until after Mr. McKenna had finished his speech. Those who were on hand changed from an attitude of perfunctory attention to one of active interest at the Chancellor's first words, and followed him closely to the end. Now the twitch of a "mutton chop" whisker,—the invariable insignia of the old-school British banker,—told of a jaw muscle that had been sharply flexed as the new income tax rate was read, or a pucker of perturbation appeared in a beetling brow as a manufacturer saw his swelling "war profits" cut in half at one fell swoop; but for the most part they "stood the gaff" like the game old patriots they were. Indeed, the expressions on the faces of these giants of British finance and industry after the reading of the budget reminded me very strongly of the advertising poster of a Western dentist, on which, under the grinning countenance of a pleased patient, was the legend, "It didn't



Photograph by Paul Thompson.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

(Mr. R. McKenna with Mrs. McKenna on their way to the House of Commons the day that Mr. McKenna presented his first war budget)

hurt a bit. I'm coming back to Dr. ——— again."

The brevity of the budget speech created a scarcely less favorable impression than its lucidity. As one paper put it,—referring to former Chancellors of the Exchequer,— "What would have taken Mr. Lloyd George five or six hours to present, Mr. Asquith two or three days, and Mr. Gladstone all of a week, Mr. McKenna accomplished to perfection in an hour and a quarter." The fact that there was no suggestion whatever of an attempt to "play politics" in the budget also told strongly in its favor with the general public.

WHAT ARE THE NEW TAXES?

The nature of the new taxes may be indicated as follows: A general increase of the income tax of about 40 per cent., so that it now takes approximately 10 per cent. of all incomes of between \$600 and \$5000 a year, and from 25 to 35 per cent. on those from \$20,000 upwards. A special tax,—popularly called the "war profits" tax,—of 50 per cent. to be levied on all trades and manufactures

whose profits exceed those of 1914-15 by over \$500. Duties on tea, cocoa, tobacco, coffee, and dried fruits raised 50 per cent., and on motor spirits and patent medicines 100 per cent. A new ad valorem duty of 33 1/3 per cent. on imported automobiles, motor-cycles, cinema films, clocks, watches, and musical instruments. Considerable increases in postal, telegraphic, and telephonic rates. (Both of the latter services are state-operated in England.)

NOT PROTECTIONISM

Perhaps the most significant commentary on the fairness with which these taxes are distributed is found in the fact that the only organized attack upon the budget came from a small group of hide-bound free-traders who professed to believe that they desecrated in the new duties on autos, cinema films, and other imported luxuries the point of the entering wedge of protection. There is little doubt that Great Britain will,—must, in fact,—adopt a certain degree of protection after the war, but Mr. McKenna is absolutely above suspicion of trying to use the present emergency to hasten the day. Indeed, nothing that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has said or done can in any way be construed to indicate that he is any less sincere in his adherence to at least the principle of free trade than he was before the war.

WHY LIQUOR WAS LET OFF

The failure of the new budget to impose additional taxes on beer and spirits was a surprise only to those quite unacquainted with the conditions prevailing, for it was hardly to be expected that where Lloyd George had rushed in and failed Mr. McKenna would have the temerity to tread. Indeed, as I heard an American of twenty years' residence in London aptly put it, "The Chancellor showed commendable discretion in not butting his head against that unbreachable wall, the stones of which are the brewing and distilling interests, and the mortar of which is the insatiable thirst for liquor of both the lower and upper classes of Brit-
ishers."

"The drink question," said this same keen observer, who is a banker, and neither a teetotaler nor even an especial advocate of temperance under normal conditions, "has been just about the worst handled of any of the domestic problems which have confronted England since the outbreak of the war, and that is saying a good deal. The saving, direct and indirect, from the putting through

of Lloyd George's total prohibition scheme last spring would have gone a mighty long way toward paying the cost of the war. And yet we had,—and still have,—the remarkable anomaly of a people sacrificing rivers of blood for their country, and yet being unwilling to give up the use of beverages which not only wasted money but lowered their industrial and military efficiency as well.

"McKenna was wise in steering clear of the thing at this juncture. He well knew that a very substantial majority in the House of Commons, rallying around the 'solid Irish,' would have wrecked the whole of his budget rather than to allow the entering wedge of prohibition to be driven on any further than it now goes under the Munitions Act. It will probably take another year or so of war, at twenty or thirty million dollars a day, to bring them and the country to their senses."

HOW MUCH CAN THE COUNTRY STAND?

The extent of the "taxability" of Great Britain,—the proportion of its war expenses the country can pay out of current revenue,—it is very difficult to approximate, largely because of the fact that this limit will be raised indefinitely as a complete realization of their responsibilities awakens in the British people a will to produce and save. Perhaps the most authoritative statement that has been made in this connection is that of Prof. W. R. Scott, the distinguished president of the British Association. "It is altogether probable," said Professor Scott in addressing a recent gathering of economists at Manchester, "that Great Britain could finance indefinitely a war costing not over one billion pounds a year. The governing condition to this, however, would be that the country put its back into it and worked a good deal harder than in time of peace. We could probably raise by taxation 400,000,000 pounds with the national income as it is just now. We could save, if we really set ourselves to it, an additional 400,000,000 pounds. But supposing the country worked harder and saved more, and suppose besides private public economy were exercised, then we come within sight of bridging over the gap between 800,000,000 pounds and the 1,000,000,000 wanted. Therefore, the things to strive for are increased economy, both public and private, and increased production."

The raising of such a sum would, however, represent pretty nearly Britain's maximum effort, and of the régime of public and

private economy which must prepare the way for it there is as yet only too little evidence. Nearly everyone, it is true,—except those workers alluded to whose expenditures have increased with their wages since the outbreak of the war,—is spending less than in peace times. But both public and private economies, for the most part, are more or less sporadic and misdirected, like that of the noble lady who wrote to a London paper to announce proudly that she had opened her savings campaign by striking all meats off the menu of her servants' hall. There is a good deal of legitimate complaint on the score of public extravagance. One sees no end of street and other work going on that could well wait until after the war. Perhaps the last straw of this kind was the recent regilding of that gingerbread atrocity called the Albert Memorial, a pretentious but artistically unspeakable monument erected at the instance of the late Queen Victoria in honor of the amiable but colorless *German* Prince whom she had taken as her Royal Consort.

"MOBILIZING" A NATION'S SAVINGS

The awakening "war consciousness," to which I have alluded as operating to make the British people ready to take up the burden of increased taxation, will also operate to make them eager and willing to follow a strong lead on the score of personal saving. But that lead they must have, and it must be introduced by a drastic campaign of public saving to set an example.

The publication in the London papers during October of accounts detailing the remarkable work Herr Rathenau has accomplished in Germany in "mobilizing" resources has created a strong demand that something of the kind be undertaken in England before it is too late. As that country undoubtedly has economic and industrial experts little if any less capable than Rathenau, one may confidently expect that a thorough and systematic "war-savings" campaign will be in full swing in England before the winter is over.

THE APPROACHING DEFICIT

Even assuming, however, that such a campaign would result in making it possible for Great Britain to raise by taxation the maximum sum mentioned by Professor Scott,—\$5,000,000,000,—there will remain a huge and constantly mounting sum to be found by other means. With the launching of the scarcely anticipated Balkan campaign, there

is little doubt that the \$25,000,000 limit set by Mr. McKenna as the daily cost of the war to England at the end of 1915 will be considerably exceeded, and that this may have increased by spring to as much as thirty, or even thirty-five, million. Thirty million dollars a day works out to pretty nearly \$11,000,000,000 a year, or more than twice as much as the maximum set by Professor Scott as raisable by taxation under the most favorable circumstances.

How is this deficit to be met? By loans, is the obvious answer. True; but how long can England go on raising loans at the rate of \$5,000,000,000 or more a year? A year undoubtedly; probably two years; possibly three years. But with the prolongation of the war there must ultimately come a point beyond which even this richest of the belligerents cannot go without recourse to something more than the orthodox expedients of taxation and loan. What then?

Then,—always supposing that the determination of the people is unbroken,—the time will have come for the "capital tax," a sort of general liquidation of private property for State ends. That this extreme contingency has not been unconsidered may be seen from the following extract from a recent article by the conservative financial editor of the *London Observer*:

A year ago we pointed out that loans running into several thousands of millions of pounds might have to be faced. To-day we regard it as a thing certain and partly accomplished. We have to consider later a permanent load of debt to the country. The interest burden may well be so great that the question of redemption is well-nigh impracticable. And so we come back to another suggestion, made months ago in these columns, and now more generally discussed. Is it possible to avoid a "capital tax," however bad the principle may be? And is it not, on the whole, the best way, after the war, to face the problem,—to "cut the national loss," so to speak?

It should be borne in mind that such a measure as this is very unlikely to be resorted to while the war is still in progress, even though the latter be greatly protracted. Afterwards, with the financial burden greater than could be borne, it might be resorted to as the best way out of the difficulty. It should be noted in this connection that Germany, in floating a war loan which she admittedly will be unable to repay unless she obtains a decisive victory and exacts an indemnity, is practically resorting to what might be described as a cross between a gamble and a "capital tax" at the end of the

first year of the great struggle. As long as she retains the command of the seas, Great Britain's financial position, at its worst, will be,—from a "world viewpoint,"—better than that of any other belligerent in either camp.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH LOAN

The American exchange difficulty was another of the war problems which was left for Mr. McKenna, and the solution of it by means of the recent Anglo-French loan met with wide, if not quite unanimous, approval in London. The principal critics of this loan have been of the ultra-insular type of "City" banker, whose viewpoint is too narrow, and whose prejudices are too strong, to permit him to comprehend that conditions in New York, Chicago, Timbuctu, or any other "outlandish" place might conceivably vary somewhat from those in London. These, noting only that while the latest British war loan was floated in London at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. the Anglo-French Loan in New York was costing near to 6 per cent., did a deal of loose talking regarding the way in which the Yankee was taking his "pound of flesh."

Bankers and writers with any appreciation of world finance, however, knowing how New York rates are close to 2 per cent. higher than London in ordinary times, and cognizant of the abnormal demand for money created in the United States by an unprecedented commercial and industrial expansion, fully realized how favorable the terms really were. This was explained with admirable lucidity by Mr. McKenna in passing the Loan Bill through the Commons in the middle of October, when

he also laid especial emphasis on his intention not to omit any measure calculated as likely to stabilize American exchange.

What direction these efforts will take has not yet been indicated, but there is good reason to believe that before long something in the nature of a "compulsory mobilization" of British-held foreign securities may be attempted, these to be sold, as the state might see fit, to satisfy obligations abroad without the export of gold. This suggestion has already been advanced in Parliament, and, drastic as it is, there is no doubt that many will be found to advocate resorting to it in preference to another foreign loan.

WILL MCKENNA TOSS THE DECIDING MILLIONS INTO THE WAR BALANCE?

The foregoing will give some idea of the difficulties which have beset the new Chancellor of the Exchequer in performing the task which was thrust upon him of maintaining the bombardment of "the silver bullet." The fact that he is gaining in prestige with every week that passes is, perhaps, the best evidence of how

well he is succeeding with it. It was Mr. Asquith, I believe, who said that the country which could throw the last hundred million pounds onto the war scale would be the victor. Judging from the effectiveness of his first tentative tosses, there seems good reason to believe that the mighty honor of raising and throwing the decisive sum into the teetering war balance will fall to the keen, quiet, resourceful McKenna, the man who has been content to let others do the talking while he gave expression to his energies in acts instead of words.



THE RECORD-BREAKER

McKENNA (the "Try-your-strength" Man): "Now, Guv'nor; let's see if you can't touch the 1590 mark."
JOHN BULL: "Right!" (Does it).

From *Punch* (London)

HOW BRITAIN PAYS HER WAR BILLS

CURRENT war expenditures in Great Britain are at the rate of \$22,000,000 a day. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has given warning that they may increase, and that, with the addition of expenditures for ordinary services, the Government may soon be faced with the problem of raising \$30,000,000 a day. In the last year of peace the rate was about one-twelfth as high.

Two methods have been adopted for finding these huge sums. The principal one is the borrowing of the savings of people within and without the British Empire. This money must be repaid after the war is over. The effect is to lessen the immediate financial burdens of war by spreading them over a long period. The second method of finding money is to increase as much as possible the ordinary forms of taxation,—to begin at once, as it were; the main task of liquidating the war debt.

A year ago new taxation was devised by Mr. Lloyd George, then Chancellor, which brings in additional yearly revenue of \$342,500,000. His successor, Mr. McKenna, has since discovered ways to bring in \$535,000,000 more. Altogether, at the present daily expenditure of \$22,000,000, these increases would carry on the war for just forty days, or approximately one-ninth of each year. It is therefore obvious that it will take eight years of peace, with war taxes continued, to pay for every year of war.

Small as this additional revenue may seem when contrasted with the huge amount raised by loans, it nevertheless means great financial burdens for the people, in addition to those to which they had become accustomed.

During a recent debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Montagu, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, set forth "the real nature of the situation" which Great Britain has to meet. We quote from his speech, as follows:

We have first of all kept, and we have to keep, an impregnable and inviolable Navy. We have, in the second place, paid for, and we continue to pay for, an Army which has increased from a few thousands to an Army which runs

into millions. Third, we are finding by loan to our Great Dominions part of the expenditure of the contingents that they are bringing into the line of battle. Fourth, as regards India, we are paying the whole of the burden of the Indian contingents, except the normal peace expenditure. Fifth, we have advanced to our Allies such sums as it is estimated in some quarters would keep and maintain in the field three millions of their soldiers. . . . The only reason I draw the attention of the House to these facts is that we have a right to be proud of the share that we in this country are contributing in this great War.

THE NEW TAXES

At a time when all thinking persons in the United States are interested in their own Government's problem of meeting increased expenditures with depleted revenues, it is instructive to note the measures taken by Great Britain in her emergency. We therefore set forth below the essential portions of Chancellor McKenna's proposals (as printed in full in the weekly edition of the *London Times*), together with some editorial comment in representative English financial periodicals.

The principal form of new taxation is a 40 per cent. increase in the rates on incomes. The exemption line is also lowered, to include those earning as little as \$13.35 weekly (\$700 yearly) who will pay 23 cents a week (\$12 a year) to the Government. Incomes of \$1000 a year (\$19.25 a week) will be taxed \$45 annually, or 90 cents weekly. Those with incomes of from \$2000 to \$5000 a year will pay approximately 10 per cent. to the Government. Incomes of \$25,000 a year will be taxed about 20 per cent. The possessor of an income of \$500,000 will be called upon to pay \$170,000,—more than a third of his income. These income-tax changes, it is estimated, will produce \$235,000,000 more than the old rates.

The next source of additional revenue devised by Chancellor McKenna is what he calls an "excess profits" tax, imposed upon businesses (with a very limited number of exceptions) whose annual profits have increased more than \$500 since the war began. It is assumed that these profits are greater because of conditions brought about by the

war; and the Government proposes to take half of the increase. The estimate of revenue to be obtained annually in this way is \$150,000,000.

Under the heading of "customs and excise," the most important source of additional revenue will be sugar, the price of which (now a Government monopoly) will be raised one cent a pound. The new price to the retail consumer will be eight cents a pound for ordinary granulated sugar. (This compares with six cents in New York City.) The anticipated revenue from the increase in sugar will be \$58,000,000 yearly. The existing duties on tobacco, tea, cocoa, coffee, chicory, and dried fruits have been raised 50 per cent. Thus the revenue from tobacco will be increased to \$75,000,000 from the previous \$50,000,000. The duty on tea is raised to 24 cents a pound (from 16 cents), and the revenue from that source alone becomes \$67,500,000 instead of \$45,000,000. The reader will remember that whereas the people of the United States drink coffee primarily, the English are addicted to tea. The income from cocoa, coffee, chicory, and dried fruits, combined, even at the new rates, is only \$7,000,000.

Import duties amounting to one-third the value of the articles are placed upon patent medicines, automobiles, motor cycles, moving-picture films, clocks, watches, musical instruments, plate glass, and hats. In some of these cases the tax is imposed not so much to produce revenue, as to discourage imports and thus to reduce consumption and enforce economy.

Finally, Chancellor McKenna has raised postal, telegraph, and telephone rates so as to increase the receipts by \$20,000,000 annually. He called attention to the fact that very heavy taxes had already been imposed on beer, in the budget of last year. The truth is that the intention of some months ago to add to the taxes on beer and other alcoholic beverages met such crushing opposition that the present cabinet did not dare to stir up the liquor question again at this time.

"INSUFFICIENT AND INADEQUATE"

Commenting upon Mr. McKenna's proposals, the editor of the *Statist* declares that they completely fail to meet the situation.

We quote from his remarks, as follows:

It is recognized that Mr. McKenna has been extraordinarily painstaking in endeavoring to be moderate and to avoid all unfairness and harshness. Nevertheless, everyone who has given any serious study to the matter, whether in Parliament or in the City, recognizes that it completely fails to meet the situation, and that fresh proposals need to be made without delay. Even Mr. McKenna himself seems to have come to the conclusion that the proposals he has so far placed before Parliament need to be supplemented.

The editor of the *Statist* declares it to be obvious that average savings have been very greatly increased (1) by abnormal profits, (2) by the transfer of men to the army, where they are maintained by the Government, and (3) by the decreased pay-rolls of employers. Most of the enlisted men, one gathers from his remarks, have so far come from the leisure class and from the "luxury trades." He pleads for vast reductions in the expenditures of the people. We quote from the editorial again:

The British people must use their capital and their credit as far as they can, but they must also resort to the greatest of all reserves that a nation possesses, the power of a determined people to deny themselves luxuries and comforts. . . . The only thing required is that the Government should let the country know what is needed, and should distribute the taxation or levy in such a way that all classes are convinced they are dealt with fairly.

The editor of the London *Economist*, also, believes that the new taxes are inadequate,—both as means of raising additional revenue and as means of diminishing the consumption of luxuries. He feels that there is "urgent necessity for much stronger measures of taxation than those which have been adopted." We quote further from his editorial:

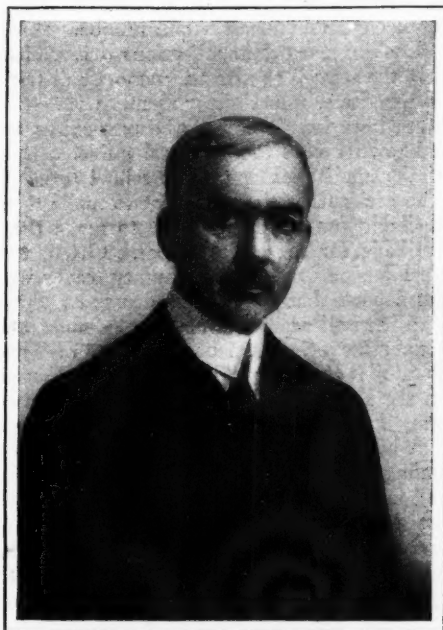
There is only one way of combining the maintenance of a Continental Army and the financial support of our Allies with the maintenance of the command of the seas; and that is by taking from the current income of the country such a tremendous toll of taxation that a large fraction of the war expenditure can be paid out of current revenue, and that the imports are brought down to the level of our exportable surplus.

"At such a time," the editor of the *Economist* declares, "tax-paying is not a burden, but a privilege."

A PARCEL-POST LIBRARY SYSTEM

HOW THE STATE OF WISCONSIN FURNISHES BOOKS TO HOMES WHERE LIBRARIES ARE UNKNOWN

BY FRED L. HOLMES



SECRETARY MATTHEW S. DUDGEON OF THE WISCONSIN FREE LIBRARY COMMISSION
(Originator of the parcel-post library plan)

TWENTY years ago Frank Hutchins, with a sympathetic understanding of the book hunger of the boy and girl on the farm, instituted the traveling library system in Wisconsin, which enabled any group of citizens to place in their midst a box of the best books in the world. To get these books, however, required united action and a certain community spirit on the part of the applicants. There are sections so sparsely settled that there is no hope for united action. Some time ago the State Library Commission made a house-to-house canvass in a pioneer territory covering one hundred and fifty square miles in the northern part of the State. It found only twenty-one homes. Five of these

twenty-one had no book, not even the Bible, and four more had nothing except the Bible.

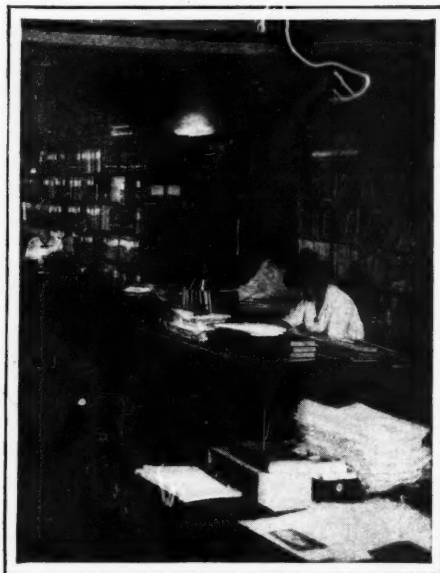
Further to carry out the Hutchins idea, and to enable the single individual to obtain a book even though no other individual joined with him, the parcel-post system of delivery of books was established by the State.

Andrew Carnegie has spent several ordinarily large fortunes erecting library buildings in many cities over the United States. Doubtless as much good will be accomplished by Matthew S. Dudgeon, secretary of the Wisconsin Free Library Commission, as the result of his founding a parcel-post library system, accessible alike to the people in city and country, wherever the mail-pouch of Uncle Sam is carried. This idea is no more acclimated to Wisconsin than to any other State or community. To-day it is rapidly growing to oak in the forest.

Once a farm lad, Dudgeon remembered how as a little boy, with his face against the window-pane in the old farmhouse, he waited to see only a team pass on the roadside to break his loneliness. It is this dreariness of the round of pasture, potato-lot, and corn-field that will require the ingenuity of men to alleviate before they can stop the unending migration of the youth of the country from the farm.

When the parcel post was extended to book shipments, an idea struck Librarian Dudgeon, which may help solve the country-life problem. Located in Madison were four libraries with an aggregate of about half a million books and pamphlets owned by the State. The most famous is the State Historical Library, which has become a Mecca for students delving for inaccessible information and original history source material. Came here in his journeys as a student, Theodore Roosevelt, gathering facts for his since famous "Winning of the West,"—and scores of others.

Now, why not furnish these books to in-



PARCEL-POST LIBRARY HEADQUARTERS

(Answering requests for books that are to go to all parts of the State by parcel post)

dividuals where libraries are unknown, asked the librarian of himself. These State libraries belong to the taxpayers, he reasoned, and they are as much the property of the lone settlers on a clearing in northern Wisconsin as they are of the citizens of Madison or the students of the State University situated there.

After consulting a parcel-post map, he called in the newspaper representatives and gave them this story: "Hereafter the State will loan any book in the State's libraries to citizens who will pay transportation charges." These charges, he figured, should not exceed five cents a volume.

The ink of the first announcement was scarcely dry when the following letter was received from a little post-office the library clerks had never heard of before:

Gentlemen: Kindly send to the undersigned at address given, Evers Touching Second. If I cannot get this, send me instead, Matthewson Pitching in a Pinch. Five cents in postage is enclosed.

"Touching Second" was promptly sent to this baseball enthusiast, and thirteen days later the same lad sent for "Pitching in a Pinch."

The second letter ran as follows: "Will you kindly send me some material on onion culture, something that would be practicable

for Wisconsin farming?" Then came scores of letters asking for books that give information on weeds, mushrooms common to northern Wisconsin, Germany and the next war, dairying, including milk production, the care of babies, diseases of animals and feeding, handy farm devices, practical silo construction, repairing automobiles, and requests for fiction ranging from Scott and Dickens to Churchill's "The Inside of the Cup" and Porter's "Laddie." During the first eight months 743 requests were received. This seems small when compared with the volume of business of city libraries, but its importance cannot be measured in numbers alone.

Looking over the applications it is evident that the service goes to the remotest districts of the State, sometimes 250 miles from the State libraries. Some of the post-offices are unknown except to the postal guide. Many of the applications are from school teachers, who are getting the books not to make them available for one reader, but to make them available for the entire school. Often, too, some business man or community leader will get a book that is much in demand and re-lend it to all around him. For example, one banker borrowed two books,—Fraser: "The Potato"; Putnam: "The Gasoline Engine on the Farm." The books were retained so long that an inquiry brought the statement that both books had been circulating rapidly among a large number of different farmers; and the request that they be left longer, since the banker had a memorandum of many other farmers who wished to borrow the books as soon as they were obtainable. With each month the number and varying character of the orders have increased as information about the new plan is disseminated. With the reopening of the schools the volume of requests has nearly doubled.

The relative ratios of the character of books ordered are at variance with city library statistics generally. With the latter fiction comprises 70 per cent. of the books loaned. Of the first 743 orders received, which is characteristic of recent orders, 251, or 34 per cent., were fiction; 181, or 24 per cent., were for books on agriculture and home economics; and 311, or 42 per cent., related to history, science, biography, and travel.

Applicants must sign a statement, to be verified by the postmaster, teacher of the rural school, or some other responsible person, that the book will be carefully protected and will be returned after fourteen days unless an extension of time has been granted.

BUFFALO'S NEW EXPERIMENT IN GOVERNMENT

DISCARDING THE PROFESSIONAL POLITICIAN, AND ADOPTING
NON-PARTISAN RULE BY COMMISSION

BY M. M. WILNER

[The rapid spread of the commission form of city government has been one of the outstanding features of modern American politics. A Government bureau has estimated that one-third of our cities having a population of 30,000 or more have discarded administration by Mayor and Council and adopted the commission plan. Most of these cities are in the South and West. In the following article, Mr. Wilner writes of the adoption of commission government by Buffalo, the second largest city in New York, and also describes the result of the first election of commissioners.—THE EDITOR.]

THE city of Buffalo has just held its first forty-eight aspirants withdrew before the election under a commission charter. primary.

As the largest city in the East and one of the largest in the United States to attempt this system of government, the results of the Buffalo experiment will be watched with much interest. The election on November 2 and the primary which preceded it were unusual enough to deserve wide attention. They were the first tests of any part of the commission charter in actual operation. The new form of government does not go into effect until the beginning of the new year, but it was necessary to elect the first commissioners in the manner prescribed by the charter.

This plan attempts to eliminate all party politics in the selection of city officials. Any citizen could become a candidate at the primary by filing a petition containing 100 signatures. There are only five elective offices in the entire city government. This year there were only four places to be filled, as the present Mayor is allowed by the charter to serve out his term.

No less than forty-eight men filed petitions to be nominated for these four offices. Included in the list were many of the old members of the Common Council, several of the men who had led the fight for the commission charter, two former members of the State Senate who had been instrumental in having the charter adopted, several business and professional men who were entirely new to politics, and the Commissioner of Public Works, who has been in office for fourteen years and has built up the most powerful patronage machine in the city. Two of the

The names of the remaining forty-six were printed on the primary ballot in alphabetical order without party classification or emblems, except that each name was numbered for the purpose of guiding the unlettered voters. Any voter who had registered last year had the right to attend the primary and make his cross before the names of any four candidates. The law provided that the eight who received the highest vote should be declared nominated.

DEFEAT OF PROFESSIONAL POLITICIANS

The result was startling. Not one of the old members of the Common Council won a place on the ticket. Only one man of the professional-politician type was successful, the Commissioner of Public Works. On the other hand, only one of the men who had been most active in agitating for the new charter was among the lucky eight. He was the most prominent of them all, called by his friends "the father of the charter."

The two former State Senators who had put the charter through the Legislature, despite the local political machines, were both nominated. The other four successful ones were a lawyer who had been president of the Better Buffalo Association, a prominent business man who had once been president of a railroad, a lumber dealer with a Germanic name, and a civil engineer,—hitherto almost unknown,—who offered himself solely on the ground of his technical knowledge. Of these men, four were Republicans, three were Democrats, and one was a Pro-

gressive. About 66,000 votes were cast at this primary, out of a total registration of approximately 80,000.

A lively campaign of three weeks followed. Frequently the eight candidates appeared on the stump together, but in the main it was each man for himself. At the election, the eight names were placed on the voting machines in a column by themselves and in alphabetical order. There were no symbols or other party designations.

The big surprise was the defeat of the Commissioner of Public Works,—the one representative of the old style of politics who had survived the primary. Despite the fact that his "machine" following alone was good for 20,000 votes, he received only about 30,000 at the election. Somewhat to the chagrin of the reformers, the leader who was called "the father of the charter" also failed by a narrow margin. The four elected were the two business men, the lawyer, and one of the former State Senators. Two of these are Republicans and two are Democrats. Except the former Senator, none of them has ever before held public office or been at all active in politics.

So far as the charter was intended to eliminate the old politician crowd and considerations of partisanship from the city government, it is a great success.

One unfortunate element which entered into the campaign was the sectarian religious issue. A secret anti-Catholic organization indorsed four men both at the primaries and at the election. A Catholic organization also had its preferred list at the primary. Only one actual member of the Catholic church was nominated, but the Catholic organization supported for election the four whom the anti-Catholics had not indorsed. This issue affected the result to some extent, though neither of the religious factions controlled the situation. One of the men endorsed by the anti-Catholics and three of those endorsed by the Catholics were successful. Of these only one is a Catholic himself. None of the candidates openly sought religious support.

DUTIES AND POWERS OF THE COMMISSIONERS

These four men, with the hold-over Mayor, will on January 1 take full control of the city. They will combine in themselves both the executive and the legislative powers. They will be the Common Council, passing on all appropriations, tax levies, and local ordinances. The Mayor merely has a

vote as one of them. He is allowed no veto power. They will also be the heads of the executive departments.

For administrative purposes the city is divided into five departments,—public safety (fire, police, and health), public works, finance, public affairs (schools and charities), parks and public buildings. The department of public safety is vested by law in the Mayor. The Councilmen will apportion the other four departments among themselves.

About a dozen of the principal subordinate offices,—such as corporation counsel, assessor, superintendent of education, etc.,—are to be filled by appointment by the entire council on nominations made by the Mayor. Lesser appointments are to be made by the Council on nominations made by the head of the department in which the appointee is to serve. Wide latitude is given the Council in the creation and elimination of offices, but the civil service must be under the rules prescribed by the State law.

The charter provides for a referendum on all franchises, and in certain conditions on other matters, but it does not include the initiative or the recall. All sessions must be public, all votes individually recorded, and reports both of Council proceedings and of the city's financial condition must be published regularly.

The terms of office are four years. The term of the hold-over Mayor, however, expires in two years, and the Councilman who received the lowest vote also drew a two-year term. Hence, in 1917 a Mayor and one Councilman will be elected, in 1919 three Councilmen, and thereafter this alternation will continue. There never will be more than three city offices to be filled by election at the same time. There are no ward offices. Salaries are \$7000 a year for Councilmen and \$8000 for the Mayor.

Buffalo worked for nearly ten years to get this charter. It was repeatedly defeated in the Legislature, but public opinion became stronger after each defeat. The people would not be denied. The charter was once vetoed by the Mayor and repassed over his veto. It was fought by the politicians from beginning to end, and always with boastful confidence on their part that it never would win, or never would work if it should win. It was adopted at a referendum in 1914 by a majority of 15,741 out of a total vote of 57,253. The politicians are still boasting that they will get the better of it, but the people have confidence.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

WAR'S REFLECTIONS IN THE WORLD'S REVIEWS

IN the following pages we summarize and quote from various articles appearing in American and foreign journals, which reflect the attitude of public opinion, in various parts of the world, towards the central world fact of current history,—the great war in Europe. Shortly after the outbreak of the war this magazine began publishing digests of important articles as they appeared from month to month in the various belligerent countries, and in this way we have communicated to our readers expressions of opinion in every country affected.

As the year 1915 is drawing to a close there is no diminution in the proportion of space devoted by the leading European reviews to matters pertaining to the war. In the *Contemporary* (London) for November, for example, nine of the fourteen contributed articles are on war topics. Among these the following are especially noteworthy: "Italy and England," by Romolo Murri; "Armenia: Is It the End?" by Aneurin Williams, M. P.; "Serbia's Need and Britain's Danger," by R. W. Seton-Watson; "Some Truths About the Dardanelles," by Sydney A. Moseley; "A Study of a War Giving," by W. Dowding; and a series of comments on developments in the Balkans by Dr. E. J. Dillon.

The *Fortnightly* (London) for November has two articles dealing with the present situation in the Balkans, and in the same magazine Robert Crozier Long explains the conditions that threaten to temper Sweden's neutrality, while another contributor comments on the valor of the Italian soldiers.

Two articles in the *Nineteenth Century* are concerned with the crisis in the Balkans. A Serbian writer traces the Balkan policy of Austria to German instigation, and that to a desire to create a greater Germany in Asia Minor. Another contributor, Mr. James Ozanne, intimates that the Balkan expedition, by weakening the offensive of the Germans and Austrians elsewhere, may prove

in the end advantageous to the Allies.

The editor of the *National Review* (London) remarks epigrammatically: "We have nothing to fear from the enemy; but everything from ourselves." The chief sources of the dangers to the Empire that the editor seems to have in mind are the panic-mongers and pessimists of Downing Street. He urges the immediate evacuation of Gallipoli, and in general a policy of concentration of forces.

Turning to publications on our own side of the Atlantic, we find in the *North American Review* for November a trio of serious and weighty articles suggested by the conflict in Europe. Professor Munroe Smith, whose article on "Military Strategy Versus Diplomacy in Bismarck's Time and Afterwards" in the *Political Science Quarterly* was quoted at some length in these pages several months ago, discusses the probable results of strict adherence to the Bismarckian policy of awaiting an attack from Russia and France instead of taking the initiative.

Professor Albert Bushnell Hart declares that we must prepare ourselves to meet European aggression in South America, or else must abandon the Monroe Doctrine altogether. But, even in the latter event, he maintains that European settlements in America will sooner or later involve the United States.

Rear-Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, U.S.N., contributes an exposition of naval principles from the professional viewpoint.

The *Atlantic Monthly* for November contains several vivid accounts of personal experiences in the war zone.

In the December *Century* "The British Foreign Policy and Sir Edward Grey" is the title of an article contributed by Arthur Bullard. In the same magazine Cosmo Hamilton argues that the British political-party system is responsible for the war. The first instalment of Walter Hale's "Notes of an Artist at the Front," with the author's drawings, appears in this number.

EUROPE'S STUPENDOUS WAR BILLS

IF anybody had attempted, before the present war broke out, to visualize the state of mind in which this country would watch the progress of such a conflict as the one now raging, he probably would have taken it for granted that our newspapers and magazines would be filled with articles setting forth the wickedness, stupidity, and painful consequences of warfare in general. As a matter of fact, the enormous flood of war literature has contained comparatively little in the way of reiteration of the old arguments on this subject. Everything that could be said against the hoary institution of war was said long ago, and apparently to little purpose. Many people have, no doubt, refrained from voicing their sentiments for this reason.

Yet, in a sense, it is possible to bring a new indictment against war, because one now has at one's disposal the old arguments multiplied by ten,—or whatever ratio the present unparalleled struggle may bear to the greatest wars of the past. Chancellor David Starr Jordan has been making conspicuous use of these reinforced arguments. Thus, in a recent address before the Insurance Congress at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, he dealt with the economics of the present upheaval in figures that take one's breath away. His address, "War, Business, and Insurance," is published in the *Scientific Monthly* (New York).

Dr. Jordan traces the history of national debts, which, as he points out, are virtually all war debts.

The chief motive for borrowing on the part of every nation has been war or preparation for war. If it were not for war no nation on earth need ever have borrowed a dollar. If provinces and municipalities could use all the taxes their people pay, for purposes of peace, they could pay off all their debts and start free. In Europe, for the last hundred years, in time of so-called peace, nations have paid more for war than for anything else. It is not strange therefore that this armed peace has "found its verification in war."

At the close of the Napoleonic wars Great Britain owed \$4,430,000,000.

The savings of peace duly reduced this debt, but the Boer war, for which about \$800,000,000 was borrowed, swept these savings away. When the present war began the national debt had been reduced to a little less than \$400,000,000, which sum a year of world war has brought up to \$10,000,000,000.

The debt of France dates from the French Revolution. Through reckless management it

soon rose to \$700,000,000, which sum was cut by paper money, confiscation, and other repudiations to \$160,000,000. This process of easing the government at the expense of the people spread consternation and bankruptcy far and wide. A great program of public expenditure following the costly [Franco-Prussian] war and its soon repaid indemnity raised the debt of France to over \$6,000,000,000. The interest alone amounted to nearly \$1,000,000,000. A year of the present war has brought this debt to the unheard of figure of about \$11,000,000,000. Thus nearly two million bondholders and their families in and out of France have become annual pensioners on the public purse, in addition to all the pensioners produced by war.

Germany is still a very young nation and as an empire more thrifty than her largest state. The imperial debt was in 1908 a little over \$1,000,000,000. The total debt of the empire and the states combined was about \$4,000,000,000 at the outbreak of the war. It is now stated at about \$9,000,000,000, a large part of the increase being in the form of "patriotic" loans from helpless corporations.

Before the present war began the nations of Europe were already up to their ears in debt, owing to the staggering cost of "preparedness." Their total national bonded indebtedness amounted to about \$30,000,000,000, or nearly three times the value of all the gold and silver in the world.

Yves Guyot, the French economist, estimates that the first six months of war cost western Europe in cash \$5,400,000,000, to which should be added further destruction estimated at \$11,600,000,000, making a total of \$17,000,000,000. The entire amount of coin in the world is less than \$12,000,000,000. Edgar Crammond, secretary of the Liverpool Stock Exchange, another high authority, estimates the cash cost of a year of war, to August 1, 1915, at \$17,000,000,000, while other losses will mount up to make a grand total of \$46,000,000,000. Mr. Crammond estimates that the cost to Great Britain for a year of war will reach \$3,500,000,000. This sum is about equivalent to the accumulated war debt of Great Britain for a hundred years before the war. The war debt of Germany (including Prussia) is now about the same.

No one can have any conception of what \$46,000,000,000 may be. It is four times all the gold and silver in the world. It represents, it is stated, about 100,000 tons of gold, and would probably outweigh the Washington Monument. We have no data as to what monuments weigh, but we may try a few calculations. If this sum were measured out in \$20 gold pieces and they were placed side by side on the railway track, on each rail, they would line with gold every line from New York to the Pacific Ocean, and there would be enough left to cover each rail of the Siberian railway from Vladivostok to Petrograd. There would still be enough left to rehabilitate Belgium and to buy the whole of Turkey, at her own valuation, wiping her finally from the map.

The cost of this war would pay the national debts of all the nations in the world at the time the war broke out, and this aggregate sum of \$45,000,000,000 for the world was all accumulated in the criminal stupidity of the wars of the nineteenth century. If all the farms, farming lands, and factories of the United States were wiped out of existence, the cost of this war would more than replace them. If all the personal and real property of half our nation were destroyed, or if an earthquake of incredible dimensions should shake down every house from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the waste would be less than that involved in this war.

Or we may calculate (with Dr. Edward T. Devine) in a totally different way. The cost of this war would have covered every moral, social, economic, and sanitary reform ever asked for in the civilized world, in so far as money properly expended can compass such results. It could eliminate infectious disease, feeble-mindedness, the slums, and the centers of vice. It could provide adequate housing, continuity of labor, insurance against accident; in other words it could abolish almost every kind of suffering due to outside influences and not inherent in the character of the person concerned.

The fatuity of ascribing the war to commercial rivalry between Germany and Great

Britain is shown by the colossal losses which the war has imposed on the commerce of both countries,—losses which German and British business men must have foreseen would follow inevitably from such a conflict. Dr. Jordan points out, *inter alia*, its disastrous consequences to the great German steamship companies, the Hamburg-American and Nord-Deutscher Lloyd.

Again, did the Cunard Company build her three great steamships, the *Mauretania*, the *Lusitania*, the *Aquitania* for the fate which has come to them? In 1914 I saw the *Aquitania*, finest of all floating palaces, tied by the nose to the wharf at Liverpool, the most sheepish-looking steamship I ever saw anywhere. Out of her had been taken \$1,250,000 worth of plate glass and plush velvet, elevators and lounging-rooms, the requirements of the tender rich in their six days upon the sea. The whole ship was painted black, filled with coal—to be sent out to help the warships at sea. And for this humble service, I am told she proved unfitted.

No, commercial envy is not a reason, rivalry in business is not a reason, need of expansion is not a reason. These are excuses only, not causes of war. There is no money in war.

SHOULD WAR PROFITS BE TAXED?

IN a recent issue of *Nuova Antologia* (Rome) is an article on the expediency of levying a tax on war profits. The writer, while admitting the undeniable fact that some individuals and companies are making much larger gains than in ordinary times, urges that, on the other hand, the manufacturers have many risks and difficulties to encounter. Of this, he says:

The price of raw materials varies sharply from day to day, so that for self-protection the manufacturer needs to demand a broad margin of profit. In the second place, the exceptional character of the orders often entails the building of new plants, or at least extensive and costly remodeling of old ones, and it remains very doubtful whether these can be successfully utilized after the war. Should this not prove possible, then the price obtained for the articles contracted for must be sufficient to provide an adequate sinking-fund.

In the majority of cases, overtime work becomes necessary, with a resulting rise in wages and more arduous application on the part of the managers, all of which should fairly be considered as affecting extra profits, for whoever works longer or harder is entitled to a greater recompense.

Still, making all due allowance for these drawbacks, the writer is quite willing to admit, what everyone knows, that in some

quarters the profits are excessive, and that a government is quite justified in taking measures to protect itself from a ruthless exploitation of the present urgent needs. How this may best be done is an open question.

This writer believes that instead of imposing a heavy tax on profits, which could scarcely be impartially levied and would work much hardship in certain cases, the most expedient course would be to forbid the companies to make an immediate distribution of the major part of the profits among the shareholders. By restricting the dividends to 6 per cent. annually, there would remain, in most instances, a large surplus which could either be expended directly in developing the plants, or else would be invested in other enterprises, thus increasing the industrial growth of the nation. If, however, this capital were divided up among a number of shareholders, it would in most cases mean only a small addition to the income of each recipient, and would cease to be a factor for raising the industrial status of Italy. Of the shareholder's probable attitude in regard to this, he writes:

If that tame creature, the Italian shareholder, could be able to understand his own true interests, he would be the first to protest against an

increase of the dividend rate, especially under present conditions. A larger dividend is no advantage, even in normal times, until the enterprise is firmly established, with ample resources and properly adjusted sinking-funds. But at the present time, a high dividend rate, one not based on the permanent and normal profits of an undertaking, but on exceptional war profits, would be distinctly unwise. As soon as the war ceases, the abnormal profits will cease with it, and the dividend will have to be lowered.

The greatest evil is that an increased dividend

would cause a temporary rise in the price of the stock. The shrewd shareholder would unload his shares, at a high figure, upon some unwary buyer, who would later on have to put up with a fall both in the dividend rate and in the price of the stock he imprudently acquired. For this reason a far-seeing investor will not buy shares which pay larger dividends because of the war, but will give the preference to those enterprises which use their increased returns to amass an ample surplus or to enlarge their facilities for production.

REVIVAL OF PLANS FOR A CHANNEL TUNNEL

SOME years ago there was a lively agitation of the project for constructing a tunnel underneath the English Channel. The affair fell through, chiefly, perhaps, because of England's fear of anything which would break the completeness of her insularity. But back of this, possibly, was a latent suspicion of her hereditary foe, Johnny Crapaud. Even then, advocates of the scheme pointed out that it was comparatively easy to avoid invasion by that means either by blocking or blowing up the entrance or by a defense requiring very small numbers of men.

Now that Germany has turned out to be the long-feared adversary, and has threatened English supplies with her submarines, the matter takes on a different aspect. It is not strange, therefore, that the project should be again proposed. A writer in *La Nature* (Paris) thus discusses its advantages:

A logical consequence of the war should be the realization of this famous project, whose execution has long been quite practicable, and which was discarded by England for political reasons alone. It would seem that henceforth political reasons would be most cogent of all for the consummation of the scheme. The splendid insular isolation of our allies is at the present moment a very grave inconvenience for them. It renders peculiarly sensitive their vulnerability to the German submarines which are harassing at once their commercial traffic and their military transports.

The building of the Channel Tunnel, which could be kept open or shut at will, would place Great Britain in the exceptionally favorable situation of possessing the advantages of insularity without its inconveniences. France is pledged for a long period to the English alliance; no necessity for the closing of the tunnel, therefore, can be perceived.

The writer next discusses the practical questions involved. The proposed tunnel would need to be about twice as long as any

now in use on the continent, but its initial cost is hard to compute in terms of these because of the different problems involved. Even should it cost over \$40,000,000, however (200 million francs), he declares its advantages would heavily outweigh any possible expense. A parallel tunnel, even with double tracks, he believes, would not cost over \$10,000,000, the saving being due to the "ability to multiply the points of attack." This latter price is about on a level with the cost of ordinary land tunnels.

The proposition to employ one of the parallel tunnels as an automobile road he considers unfeasible for the reason given below:

I believe that this solution would result in mediocre returns. The returns of any roadway whatever depend above all on the possibility of causing whatever vehicles are employed to pass in regular succession at as short intervals as practicable. It would be impossible to exert upon any automobilists whatever the discipline necessary to secure such a rapid and regular succession.

The best method of moving them would certainly be to load them on cars on the trains. It would suffice to arrange for the minimum expenditure of time and formality to secure this result. Two tunnels, each double-tracked, would probably yield a revenue sufficient for running expenses even in the most critical periods of war-time.

Thus, for example, with properly regulated operation, each of the two would suffice to transport about four army corps per day; that is to say, that within a week an English army having a strength of 60 corps, could cross the channel, and come to resume, if need be, the good fight of 1915.

Under such circumstances English concentration towards Belgium or the Rhine would be almost as swift as French, "a condition essential for the avoiding of future Charle- rois." On the other hand Great Britain's revictualling would be a matter of security henceforth.

MR. ROOT, CHARACTERIZED BY A PROGRESSIVE

WE have previously noted articles in *Collier's* series called "Presidential Possibilities." In the issue for November 13, Elihu Root is brought forward as a prospective Republican candidate. The article is written by Professor Frederick M. Davenport. It derives interest from the fact that Davenport was the Progressive (Bull Moose) candidate for Governor of New York last year, running against the successful Republican, Mr. Whitman. Davenport is evidently prepared to help lead the Progressives back to the Republican fold on a liberal platform with Mr. Root as the standard-bearer.

Although Mr. Root has for a great many years been one of the leaders at the bar in New York City, except when serving in the Cabinet at Washington, he regards his real home as at Clinton, New York (a little town not far from Utica), which is the seat of Hamilton College. Mr. Davenport himself is Professor of Law and Politics in that College; and since Mr. Root is the chairman of the board of trustees and the dominant personal influence in the affairs of the institution, there is a natural sympathy between the talented Professor of Politics and the eminent Practitioner of Statesmanship.

THE REAL ROOT, ON HAMILTON COLLEGE CAMPUS

Mr. Davenport gives the reader a delightful impression of Mr. Root in the environment of this respectable little college in northern New York, as the following passage shows:

Elihu Root had his origin distant from the haunts or the ideals of Toryism or aristocracy. He was born on the campus of Hamilton College in central New York, a little democratic institution of two hundred students, far from the salt water, but well known because it has always stood for something and has turned out not a few graduates who have attracted the attention of the country. One of them is Elihu Root. He is the biggest of them. His father was the professor of mathematics, and the son inherited the precision of his mind. His brother was long on the faculty there; his boys were trained there, and he is at the head of the Board of Trust. He is wrapped up in Hamilton as Webster was in Dartmouth. Everybody remembers what Webster said to the Supreme Court in the famous national case which in the early years of the last century decided that a charter is a contract and that not even the State could steal the little institution from its honorable



REPRODUCTION OF "COLLIER'S" COLORED COVER

career: "She is a little college, but there are those who love her."

Elihu Root loves Hamilton. No commencement luncheon is complete without a word of cheer or wisdom from him; no opening year but listens to his salutation to the entering freshmen; no executive meeting without his broad and wise and kindly counsel. Cold? No sentiment? Tell that to the soldiers of the sea,—not to the graduates and undergraduates of Hamilton.

And when he rests from his many labors he loves to rest on College Hill, amid its quiet scenes and in its classic shade. It was of this home and these surroundings that he spoke in that recent remarkable address before the New York State Constitutional Convention in which he so strikingly analyzed the boss system of his State and its evil influence upon the government and the welfare of the commonwealth:

"There is a plain old house in the hills of Oneida overlooking the valley of the Mohawk where truth and honor dwell in my youth. When I go back, as I am about to go, to spend my declining years, I mean to go with a feeling that I can say I have not failed to speak and to act in accordance with the lessons I learned there from the God of my fathers."

He was the valedictorian of Hamilton, '64. College honors have been thick upon him in his later years. Leading universities at home and abroad have vied with one another in conferring upon him titles of distinction. For Elihu Root is not only a statesman and a great lawyer, but a genuine scholar. He is a thinking machine, and as much at home when he is addressing the members of Union University as honorary chancellor or Princeton University upon the essentials of the Constitution as in the forum of legal or political debates.

ROOT, HAMILTON,—JEFFERSON, ROOSEVELT

It is quite like a Professor of Political Science to offer,—as Mr. Davenport proceeds to do,—a philosophical analysis of Mr. Root's views. He is like Hamilton, we are told, but very different; just as Roosevelt is like Jefferson but also extremely unlike. We may pass over these parts of the article, because Root has been so long before the American public that his attitude is either understood or divined. Yet we may quote a little of the summing up:

It would be unfair to compare Root and Roosevelt with Hamilton and Jefferson. Root is not Hamilton. Neither is Roosevelt Jefferson. Root does not distrust democracy as Hamilton did, although he has the caution of Hamilton and the conservative sense of order and proportion and efficiency which Hamilton had. And Roosevelt is the antithesis of Jefferson except in his overmastering passion for democracy. And this has grown with his experience of the world. Power made Roosevelt a radical and an out-and-out idealist. He feels the tides first, and all the time he fights, either with or against the tide.

There is more national potency in these two men, in their personalities, in their combined philosophies, in their combined ideals, than in any other two men in the United States. When such different types honestly and earnestly cooperate, the country is best governed. It is ever to the advantage of national reaction and weakness and wrong, and ever to the disadvantage of national progress and power and right, that two such men should remain permanently apart.

And Elihu Root's philosophy goes far to explain his career. He early chose to get close to the sources of power in the country and to endeavor to get what of good he could out of them instead of fighting them. He has been accused of acting as legal counsel to one section of what is called the money power. Undoubtedly he has so acted. And, of course, the money power is entitled to counsel, and at times has needed it badly. And I have always noticed that a big corporation in trouble always hires the best lawyer to be had.

When it comes to past performances, Davenport makes a good case for his client. He shows how Root earned the Nobel Peace Prize by serving as a good Secretary of War. The Nobel Prize, however, came in reality to the ablest of our modern Secretaries of State. Mr. Root's relationship to South America is properly emphasized, as is his argument in the fisheries arbitration. Far too little, in view of the length of the article, is said about his specific achievements during five years as Secretary of War, and during another five years as Secretary of State. The fact that he opposed Senator Lorimer, of Illinois, is set forth at length; and following this passage is another long one entitled "Muzzling Mr. Barnes."

This has reference to Mr. Root's work as Chairman of the recent State Constitutional Convention. Evidently Mr. Davenport is trying to cater to the progressives and reformers. He seems to ignore the fact that Mr. Root as chairman named Barnes as head of the Committee on Legislative Powers,—the very committee for which the progressives regarded Barnes as most unfit.

We have already published in this magazine the great speech of Mr. Root in the Convention exposing and denouncing "invisible government," as exercised during the past half-century by party bosses and machines in New York. Mr. Davenport puts great stress upon Mr. Root's work as the leading liberal of the Convention. For example, he says:

The cleavage between Root and Barnes in the Convention was deep. Barnes was the conspicuous reactionary. Root was the conspicuous liberal. . . . The time has come when invisible government must give way to government that is accountable and responsible.

Mr. Davenport regards this recent attitude of Root as "the climax of the herculean labors of Roosevelt from the time of his Governorship to the verdict against Barnes in the trial at Syracuse." As for the deeds as well as the words of Root in the Albany Constitutional Convention, Mr. Davenport's praise is fully merited. The essential work of the Convention was on a par with the great constructive things that Root accomplished when he made the present frameworks of government for Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. It was on a par with his achievements as Secretary of State. Mr. Davenport wrote his article, evidently, before the overwhelming defeat of the new Constitution at the polls; but Mr. Root's work was sound and efficient, and will ultimately be accepted.

Mr. Davenport does not try to give an explanation of Chairman Root's actions in the Chicago Convention of 1912,—the most shocking and abhorrent convention known in the history of American politics. Mr. Davenport himself hates that convention and all its ways and works; but he believes that Mr. Root will rise to greater heights in 1916, and that he will be the chief figure of the next Republican National Convention. He will then be seventy-two years old; but as Mr. Davenport truly tells us, he is at the very prime of his intellectual power, and has the physical vigor of a man of sixty. He will be missed from the Senate this winter.

GERMANY'S HOPE IN THE EAST

THE entire issue of Maximilian Harden's weekly organ, *Die Zukunft*, for October 9, is occupied by an article entitled "*Wird im Osten Licht?*"—"Is Light Dawning in the East?" The significance of recent developments in the Balkans is discussed by Harden after the grandiose fashion characteristic of his pen. The article is divided into three parts, under the successive heads: "What the Enemy Says," "At the Loom of Time," "To-Morrow." The middle section is a historical survey,—*more Germanico*, but with Harden's dramatic dash and color substituted for the ordinary German's heaviness,—of the making of the Balkan peoples into what they are; the story beginning with the entry of Basileios the Second into Constantinople 900 years ago, and ending with the events of our own day. Of this section it is quite impossible to convey any idea in abridgment. The first section of the article begins with the following presentation of the *rationale* of Bulgaria's conduct in the present crisis; and of the significance attaching to her espousal of the cause of the Central Empires:

When Russia was forced to give way in Galicia and deliver the mailed girdle of her western frontier to the German hosts, faith in the victory of the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey) became firmly rooted in the Bulgarian court.

The course of action of the Balkan states seemed prescribed to them by the force of circumstances; they dared not, in view of their very limited financial and industrial resources, intervene too early or too late in the European conflict,—should the opportunity of effective coöperation be neglected they would forfeit their part of the booty; it was theirs to interpose at a moment when the final outcome should be beyond all doubt and their help be still of considerable importance to the victor of to-morrow.

The racial impulse of the Balkan state so sorely wounded by the Treaty of Bucharest urged it, above the other Balkan powers, to discover the approach of that moment. Greece and Rumania could have their territorial integrity guaranteed by both groups of powers and feel sure that after the victory of the Allies they would not forfeit sections of Hungarian, Turkish, Albanian territory. For Finno-Slavic Bulgaria, hated by all her neighbors, promise and guarantee were no longer sufficient after her faith in the victory of the Allies had vanished.

That victory alone would secure for her the portion of Macedonia in Serbia's possession, since the Treaty of Bucharest (not the Grecian, the Drama-Kavala Zone), and the reversion of the section of the Dobrudja in Rumania's possession; should the other group of powers be victorious, policy might dictate that the Serbians be allowed



MAXIMILIAN HARDEN
(Editor of *Die Zukunft*)

to penetrate to the Adriatic, as a strong bulwark against Italian advance, and that no essential inroads be made upon their Macedonian possessions.

Convinced that the defensive strength of Russia,—even without the expected encircling and annihilation of its army, or a chief part of it,—was crushed, and that Germany's western front could not be pierced or driven back, Bulgaria determined to link her fate with the Triple Alliance.

In concluding the September treaty, by the terms of which the Turks, the arch-enemy of yesterday, yielded the Kingdom a considerable stretch of territory, Bulgaria resolved to shoulder arms against Serbia should the land of the Karageorgevitchs be threatened by a German invasion.

Elation at this success of the German arms (a success which might be emphasized, not heightened, by a diplomat or an occasional emissary) was proclaimed from the housetops, sooner, perhaps, than was necessary or advisable, in Berlin and the press of other places. It might have been wiser to give this watchword until the actual advance of the Germans into Serbia: "We do not reckon upon assistance from Balkan quarters; Bulgaria hardly indeed knows herself against whom she is mobilizing."

The edge of the new alliance was hoisted like a festive banner,—and the last veil fell from the enemy's eyes. England in her strong, leisurely way looked upon the clearing of the situation as a gain, and prepared, without haste, to parry a danger which she had included in her reckoning,—but probably underrated, as she had others. France cried out in wrath, as if something inconceivably outrageous had occurred; what was said, as far back as the last week in September,

is noteworthy,—because we can discern the temper and will which animated it.

Then follow a number of extracts from leading organs of French opinion, expressive at once of intense anxiety lest the Entente Powers should intervene too late to check Bulgaria and save Serbia, of bitter resentment at the game that Bulgaria was playing, and of indignation over the ending of it which seemed so plainly foreshadowed. Thus the extract from the *Temps* closes with these words: "Through her [Bulgaria's] dicker-ing with the Turks, under whose oppression the Balkans have groaned for centuries, with dishonored Germany, and with despised Austria, she has betrayed the cause of the Balkan peoples. If she shall dare to pursue her purpose to the end, she will earn the contempt of mankind and bring about her own destruction." Whereupon Harden interposes the inquiry, "Why then all this rage?"

In the third section of his article, entitled "To-Morrow," Harden sweeps over the possibilities that the future holds for the Balkan peoples, and dwells especially on the ambitions of Greece and the fulfilment of her unextinguishable dreams of greatness which may come out of the present upheaval. Then he turns to what is, after all, the one absorbing subject:

And what fruit does this new sowing of blood promise to Germany? You have seen how our enemies growl and mutter. They know what may spring from that battle-ground, and are raging, low or loud, that their leaders did not prepare for it sooner. (Rejoice, Teutons! Ephialtes, who showed Xerxes the way over the Kallidromas pass at Thermopylae, is not native to your soil. During a full half-year the plan of the Eastern campaign was being worked out to its minutest detail,—and not betrayed to the enemy. Even to-day he deceives himself and others about essentials, and will only learn at the time of vintage the proper reverence for German energy and ability.)

Was any doubt possible? Was not the power that is shut off from the ocean bound to aim, as soon as the situation was smoothed on its eastern front, to destroy the last link that bound Russia to the Western powers, to free the Turks from the gradually approaching danger of want, and make its way to the Egean, the Black Sea? Would not the military heads of the enemy nations who had failed to foresee such a plan,—the one plan most essential,—deserve ignominious punishment?

The thoughts of German greatness, German superiority, German invincibility, that surge up in Harden's mind as he thus contemplates this triumph of her deep-laid plans, seem to be too overwhelming for ordinary expression. He breaks off his commentary,

and, without a word of introduction, pours out his feelings in a long Biblical passage, "God's word to Zephaniah."

With that invocation of national self-righteousness, drawn from an old dispensation, the article ends, but for the following closing words:

Clean lips and harmony among the nations: may this prayer sanctify the day of wrath. Again will young blood flow, noble manhood be resolved into torments of the maimed. That the victims of battle shall not be heaped up anew is the aim of the enormous outlay,—not as has been charged, to crush the valiant Serbian people; it needed not the superior force of three armies to accomplish that.

In the East, between Seret and Duna, not a stone in the wall is loosened. In the West, the sudden attack of our enemies, dictated by a consuming desire for victory and not justified by the degree of their preparedness, caused fearful losses and consigned tens of thousands of brave men to the pangs of captivity, yet nowhere has the iron front of the Germans been deeply furrowed.

The armed hosts, humanity, long fervently for a decision. It may come in the Southeast. As long as there is a glimmer of hope of Constantinople, Russia, Great Britain, France will hardly agree to enter into negotiations with the power which has shown itself the strongest. When Serbia and Russia lay down their arms, when Russia is almost totally separated from her allies, with no exit to Southeastern Europe, limited economically and as to armament to Archangel and Vladivostok, the office of custodian of the strait will fall to a German army, and the way be open to the Suez Canal. Perhaps good sense will then speak once more, shyly, with clean lips, of a wise regard for man, and the bloody fumes of dawn break into the rosy light of morning.

Egypt the Goal

IN an article entitled "Suez or Calais?" written for *Das Grösser Deutschland*, a weekly devoted to German world and colonial policy, Dr. Ernst Jäckh, one of the contributing editors of the journal, comments on the military possibility of an Egyptian campaign in these words: "From Calais England can be molested and harassed, from Suez England can be paralyzed and defeated."

That the German General Staff has more than a chimerical interest in the possibility, the ways and means of a campaign against Egypt, we may take for granted from the fact that military experiments have been going on since the beginning of this year with a view to ascertaining climatic and topographical conditions. Dr. Jäckh writes:

In January of this year a Turkish army corps executed the first preliminary march toward Egypt, starting from Syria by way of Sinai, and

accomplished the feat within four weeks. They succeeded in traversing the three hundred kilometers of desert in strenuous marches, in securing the provisions of water and foodstuffs, and in penetrating to the Canal through territory which had been abandoned by British troops. The German officers have only words of praise for the Turkish soldiers who bore want and hardships with unequalled cheerfulness. This expedition succeeded, furthermore, in crossing the Canal at two points and caused the English severe losses in some skirmishes before returning safely with important collected results of the enterprise.

This expedition was merely a preparation, an investigative trip with the view to collecting experiences, to ascertaining all conditions on the basis of which the real attack can be made. German engineers are now constructing a Syrian railroad and a Sinai railroad which will transport later the necessary heavy artillery. The road from Constantinople to Suez is free, and the road from Berlin to Constantinople must become so as a consequence of the decisive victories over Russia.

Dr. Jäckh considers this campaign of inestimable importance to Germany's future strategic position. He continues:

Therefore, even after a separate peace with Russia (if such a peace should become possible) the military conflict with England would have to be continued and carried through,—as far as Suez. The English counter-calculation has for years and decades retarded if not prevented the construction of these railways; the German and Turkish war promotes them and quickens their completion. On the day that the Mecca railroad traverses Sinai and the Bagdad railroad extends through Persia, both Egypt and India will be in reach of the Turkish army, and what the Turkish troops can accomplish after the regeneration of Turkey is confirmed by the singularly heroic struggles in the Dardanelles. The world-war will be fought from now on for the safety of the region between the Dardanelles and Suez, for the

permeating organization of a prosperous and strong Turkey through German methods, and for the safety of growing Germany against English hostility by establishing a continuous threat to the English world-center in or near Suez. Calais is much, Suez is more.

Paul Rohrbach, writing in the same journal, proceeds to summarize the economic possibilities of Asia Minor and the lands beyond:

On the south shore of the peninsula where the waters thunder down from the Taurus mountains there is a project now under execution to produce annually through regulation and distribution of the rivers millions of hundred-weights of cotton for German industry. Other hundreds of thousands will come from Aleppo which was the cotton-country of the antique world as the Mississippi region is of the present. In the Taurus and Antitaurus lie huge deposits of copper and other metals. In Assyria and the lower stream region there are oil springs that are perhaps richer than any hitherto known. And Babylon will be the great agricultural oasis of the world after the old methods of regulating the waterways and streams have been restored, a ten-fold Cilicia, a two-fold Egypt. Upon the Sawad, the dark alluvial soil about Babylon, rested the strength of all Asiatic empires from the days of Assur.

There lies more for us than copper and oil, wheat and cotton. There lies a world waiting for us to awaken it from the sleep of a millennium, a world that will become with our aid within half a century three times as populated, ten times as rich as it is to-day, a world willing to reward immeasurably all work. No political conception suffices to form a practical idea of the staggering effect upon English world-dominion from the immediate threatening of Egypt. This war has taught us in many respects that reality produces more incredible things than can the boldest imagination. It is not at all impossible to crush England's power during the present war with Egypt as a basic point.

WHAT THE ALLIES CAN DO IN THE BALKANS—AN ITALIAN VIEW

THE urgent necessity for quick and decisive action in the Balkans is the theme of a timely article in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome). The writer fully realizes that no really effective measures are possible unless the Allies can be brought to work more in unison than they now do, following in this the striking example set by the Central Powers. It is universally recognized that many mistakes have been made by the Allies in the Balkans, both in military and naval operations and in diplomacy, but these errors can still be made good if the proper course

is at last pursued, always bearing in mind, however, that a display of force is more respected in these regions than any proclamation of rights.

The writer advocates energetic use of the powerful fleet of the Allies against such of the coast cities as are exposed to attack, and he recommends the levying of contributions upon them, believing that what Germany has done in Belgium by means of her army, can and should be done by the Allies with their navies. Above all, however, he insists upon the absolute need of liberal subsidies

and loans to the Balkan States. He evidently believes that "money talks." The reasons for this he gives as follows:

The Balkan nations are young and therefore poor, and it was above all on this side that they could be approached and could be induced to participate in the war. In the pamphlet that the Bulgarian Government is distributing in Europe, it is clearly stated that the economic and financial interests of Bulgaria require her to stand with the Central Powers, which not only represent a wide commercial movement, but have accorded the considerable loan not agreed to by Italy. And the pro-German press of Athens continually reiterates that with the Central Powers are money and wealth.

When Greece ordered the mobilization from which we expected so much, the Entente accorded a loan of \$6,000,000. What is this in a war that consumes such immense sums? An offer of a hundred millions,—not a loan,—would have exerted a very different influence.

For months Europe has rung with the complaints of the Rumanian farmers that they could neither export their crops nor obtain credit from the local banks. Why was it not possible for the Allies to finance the Rumanian banks, and thus create a network of favorable influences which would have reached even into the remotest rural districts?

As at present the disposable forces of the Allies appear to be insufficient for the task of checking their enemies' progress in the Balkans, in the opinion of this writer the enforcement of conscription by England would prove of great eventual importance, provided, however, the requisite steps were immediately taken.

He would even welcome the transfer of a large body of Japanese troops—perhaps a million—to be evenly divided between the

French field of operations and the Balkan Peninsula. Here again he notes the danger of delay. If Japan's aid is ever to be sought, it should be sought now, since to ask for it later on, when the situation had grown worse, would most probably be to court a refusal.

The only successful appeal to Greece and Rumania will be an appeal to their own interests, and this fact must be clearly and definitely understood. The writer expresses his idea on this subject in these words:

Finally, such a diplomatic and economic situation must be created, that the Balkan states will feel they have every advantage in intervening on the side of the Allies, and every disadvantage in remaining neutral. Now that Bulgaria has perpetrated "the blackest treachery history records," she is undeserving of any pity. With a share of Bulgarian and Turkish territory, Greece, Serbia, and Rumania can be contented, the last named could even have a port on the Egean. The example of Germany, ready to cede Greek territory to Bulgaria, shows that in the Balkan Peninsula sentimental considerations of race, tongue, and nationality have little value. Here the strong preys on the weak.

It would be sheer simplicity on the part of the Allies to believe that Greece and Rumania will enter the arena in their favor actuated by ideal or sentimental motives. Without ample territorial compensations and without provision for the necessary expenses, these nations will make no move; and indeed from their viewpoint they probably think themselves in the right. Apart from the inevitable horrors of war, why should any state load itself with debts and taxes to please the powers of the Entente? And, nevertheless, the diplomats of the Allies have for the past year clung to this strange delusion, and have therefore been led into the errors and mistakes which the press is to-day unanimous in condemning, perhaps rather too harshly.

THE MAN WHO RAISED CANADA'S ARMY

THE loyalty of the Dominion of Canada in the present war is second to none among the colonies of Britain; and her substantial contribution to England's fighting line in Europe has proved a considerable factor in the Allies' strength. The Canadians showed their mettle at Ypres, Neuve Chapelle, Langemarck, and elsewhere on the European battlefield. Canada has raised altogether 165,000 men, and a few weeks ago the Dominion Parliament decided to bring the full quota up to 250,000. This, for a young country, is "going strong." Especially difficult, of course, was the mobili-

zation of the first army of 30,000. This was not because of the lack of men and spirit, but because of the newness of the problem and the brief time set in which to achieve the task. But the result was splendid in its success.

That Canada, a non-military nation, with no previous experience in war preparation except military maneuvers, could collect, equip, train, and transport 30,000 men without one serious mishap, was due, according to Mr. Britton B. Cooke, who contributes an article to the *Canadian* magazine, to the genius of General Sam Hughes, "a one-time

Canadian country boy, private in the militia, school teacher, political worker,"—a man who "thrusts out his splendid jaw, draws down the corners of his tight, yet humorous mouth, sets his rather good and aggressive nose straight in the face of public disapproval and blazes away with as fine a pair of snapping, defiant, and intelligent Irish-Canadian eyes—grey-blue—as ever shamed the devil."

No other man, it is believed, could have done what General Hughes did in the time at his disposal. No other man could have secured the coöperation of his staff and the help of outsiders in such a successful way as he did. This man, with the qualities of a great executive, had spent many years as a quiet member of Parliament, never noted as a speech-maker or as a startling contributor to the sum total of ideas in the House of Commons. But:

the Colonel Hughes who in times of peace occupied himself with all the minutæ of military work, attending rifle matches and presiding at meetings of small-arms committees and so on, is not the same man you meet under that name to-day. He was a man out of place except when war—such as the South African War or the present titanic struggle—gave him an opportunity to serve. In South Africa his impetuous gallantry and daring was unbelievable. Now in the work of organizing the resources of the Dominion in the present struggle he has found his *métier*.

How he accomplished the feat of mobilizing Canada's army can be glimpsed in several incidents related by the writer of this article. For example there was the mechanical transport problem. Looking over the list of men experienced in the automobile business, he picked out a well-known expert, T. A. Rus-



© American Press Association, New York
GENERAL SAM HUGHES, CANADIAN MINISTER OF MILITIA



SOLDIERS TRAINING AT WINNIPEG



CANADIAN RECRUITING POSTER

sell, a quiet, steady-going type of man, used to chopping off so much work in so much time.

Hughes handed Russell a piece of paper not much larger than the palm of one's hand, and covered with notes.

"There," he said, in his customary brusque voice, "that's a memorandum of what we'll need in the way of mechanical transport. I want that looked after and I want all the stuff ready by September 22nd.

"But, Colonel—" protested Russell (Hughes was then still Colonel Sam), "it's absolutely impossible. It can't be done."

Hughes looked up.

"What did I ask you to come to Ottawa for?" he snapped. "To tell me that?"

"But, Colonel Hughes, there are heavy trucks and light trucks, different kinds of bodies, different types of motors required, repair shops to go with each unit, spare parts—spare—"

"Never mind the list," retorted Hughes, "I wrote it out myself. I know what it says. What I want is the work done. It must be done by the twenty-second. That is all. Good morning."

It was the same with the question of railroad transportation. The great new army had to be brought from all over Canada to the Valcartier mobilization ground. Hughes summoned the railway chiefs and told them what was required.

"How many men will we have to move?" asked one of the officials.

"Anything from twenty-five to fifty thousand."

"In how long?"

"Right away. Soon as they are ready to go."

"It can't be done."

"Oh, yes it can," said Hughes.

It was.

The tax on the Canadian Northern Railway was tremendous, for it was by this road, —after the Grand Trunk and the Canadian Pacific had collected the soldiers from all over Canada—that the men had finally to be carried from Montreal to Valcartier. The railway men worked as they had never worked before, building extra sidings and loops for the handling of the enormous traffic. Soldiers came pouring into the Valcartier training camp at the rate of ten train-loads a day.

And then followed the problem of caring for the soldiers after their arrival. Departmental chiefs, accustomed to ordinary routine work, were suddenly confronted with the tasks of draining, lighting, and equipping the great new camp.

If Hughes, when he told them the situation, had expressed so much as half a doubt that the thing was possible, they might have lost their nerve. The task was colossal. But Hughes treated his men as though they were colossi as well. He gave no sermons, expressed no doubts, refrained from interference. His orders were carried out.

As train after train dumped additional thousands of men on the plain at Valcartier, high officers shook their heads in despair and all but threw up their hands. It was impossible, they felt, to bring order out of such a situation. Men were arriving so fast they could never, never, handle them. But one man in the midst of the strain remained unperturbed. If anyone whispered "Impossible," his retort was, "Nothing is impossible. Do it."

Other men, says this writer, would have planned everything in detail; but Hughes had the perspective of a great undertaking, picking out the best man he could find for each piece of work, and inspiring them all by his own industry and determination to do their utmost.

There is no idling in the Department of Militia and Defense at Ottawa. The place hums with industry. General Hughes himself is there early and late; and though he has an enormous mail and is under great pressure, he looks into every complaint personally and insists that everyone with a grievance may write to him about it.

Personally, the General is not usually described as lovable; yet he is loyal to his friends and commands the affection of his

subordinates. To Hughes "every soldier is his boy." He has a fatherly feeling for his family of fighting men. He does not love war for itself; but for the qualities it brings out in men. His one regret seems to be that he cannot fight and administer at the same time.

His hold on his men is explained by his care of them. Once in South Africa, when sentries were being stabbed from behind, Hughes evolved a plan of connecting them by means of a piece of string, tied to the hands, so that when one man dropped, his fellow would be warned. Although this Canadian trick excited derision in some quarters, his men appreciated Hughes and were ready to follow him as they would few other men. Again in South Africa, while

out all night with a small scouting party, his men worn out and tired,

Hughes, whose bodily strength is a byword, whiled away the time telling his all but discouraged men bits of stories from Canada, and reciting to them odd pieces of poetry he had memorized. When the crew were ready to turn in, it was Hughes who took the hardest watch of the night and—because he knew he was in better condition than the others—he took two watches without telling anyone.

"Blunt, vigorous honesty, a tremendous heart, a 'twin-six' thinking engine,—these," says Mr. Cooke, "are the characteristics of the man who is responsible for the splendid organization of Canada's share in the fight of the world."

ENGLAND'S CITIZEN ARMY

IF Lord Kitchener should deem it necessary to call for recruits between the ages of forty and fifty, a million men, according to the *London Review of Reviews*, would respond. The foundation for this statement is in the fact that half that number is already in training in a voluntary citizens' organization, and the slightest encouragement would double their ranks. That the citizens of England have thus organized themselves into a potential second line of defense of about 500,000 men will doubtless be news to many of our readers.

The "V. T. C.," or Volunteer Training Corps, as the organization is called, is made up of men from every walk of life. It has units in every county. Membership in the corps requires considerable sacrifice of time, money, personal convenience, and business; but this sacrifice is willingly made, and each man undertakes to remain a member until the end of the war. The wearing of uniforms is not obligatory; but pride in their corps leads the men to furnish equipment at their own expense.

The government supplies nothing in the way of arms, ammunition, or clothing, nor any financial help (naturally it is occupied at present with financing the war and outfitting the men actually needed at the front). Nevertheless, official recognition has been given to the movement, with certain provisos. The War Office has ruled that only those men can be enrolled who are not eligible for service in the regular or territorial army, or who are unable for some genuine reason

to enlist. The use of accepted military ranks and titles or badges of rank is not allowed; uniforms are permitted to be worn as necessary for training, but must be distinguishable from those of the regular and territorial armies. No form of attestation, involving an oath, is permitted. Army recruiting officers may visit the Corps any time to recruit men found eligible for service whose presence in the Corps is not accounted for by some good and sufficient reason.

All this seemed rather grudging recognition to the members of the "V. T. C.," but it was sufficient to allow the organization to prosecute its purposes, which are:

1. To assist recruiting for the Regular and Territorial Army.
2. To encourage men not of age for service in the Regular Forces, or, if of age for service, who have a genuine reason for not joining the Regular Army, to form themselves into Volunteer Corps in order to learn, in their spare time, the elements of military drill, and rifle shooting.
3. To organize the various Volunteer Corps throughout the country into battalions and regiments, taking as the geographical basis of such organization the county area; to provide rules and regulations for such Volunteer Corps; to secure their military efficiency; to act as a connecting link between them and the War Office and to enforce such regulations as the War Office may issue.

The organization is said to have already rendered important service to the country, particularly in stimulating recruiting. Many of the members (those, of course, whose disability had been removed) have themselves joined the colors; in addition to which the

organization naturally does much toward inspiring others to enlist. The Volunteer Training Corps is also useful in working out problems of defense, based on their knowledge of their own particular locality. Information of this character will be of importance to any military force that may be obliged to operate in the neighborhood.

A voluntary body of this kind, with units scattered throughout the Kingdom, would be apt to suffer from confusion, without experienced advice. This problem is met by having a military adviser in the person of General Sir O'Moore Creagh, V.C., who gives suggestions to the local commandants. The various corps are linked up into regiments, the county being taken as the area of organization. Eminent titled gentlemen such as the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Devonshire, and others, act as presidents of their respective county committees.

The idea was born of "a letter to the *Times*" by Mr. Percy A. Harris, a former

member of the London County Council, and met with such wide and prompt response as to give immediate assurance of the success of the plan. In considering the patriotic and earnest spirit of these men, surrendering some of their "slipper ease" and their scant leisure to the serious task of being a soldier, one is reminded in some degree of the many American citizens who at Plattsburg and Fort Sheridan during the past summer applied themselves with serious diligence to acquiring some military knowledge and experience.

In summing up the value of this volunteer military organization in England, the *London Review of Reviews* states:

The V. T. C. sets an example to every citizen; it provides the simplest means whereby every man above military age can place himself at the disposal of his country; and if the government are enabled to carry on the war without the imposition of some form of national service or conscription, it will be mainly due to the V. T. C.

A GREAT SEAPORT NEAR THE ARCTIC CIRCLE

ARCHANGEL, the Russian port on the White Sea, is by no means a new seaport. An English trading settlement was founded here in the sixteenth century, while in the seventeenth it was the only outlet by sea of the Russia (Muscovy) of that day. Peter the Great deliberately paralyzed its trade for the benefit of his new capital of St. Petersburg. The great war has now restored something like the situation of three centuries ago. The Baltic is no longer open to Russian traffic, and Archangel's only competitor is Vladivostok, at the other end of the Empire.

Mr. H. D. Baker, commercial attaché at Petrograd, describes in *Commerce Reports* (Washington: Government Printing Office) the impressive transformation that the exigencies arising from the war have wrought in this far northern seaport. Mr. Baker, by the way, is an official who deserves well of the American people for the wealth of important, timely, and interesting information that he has gleaned in foreign lands and laid before the readers of the unique newspaper published by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. The results of his travels in India and adjacent countries are memorable, and have recently been collected

and reissued in the Bureau's "Handbook of India."

He writes:

There has probably never been a more noteworthy expansion in the trade of any particular port in such a short time than has occurred at Archangel during the last year. Previous to the war the trade of this port was confined to comparatively small exports of timber, fish, furs, and other local products of northern Russia, and a relatively small return movement of goods required for local consumption. Now, however, Archangel is the only port of European Russia open for foreign business by direct sea communication, and, except Vladivostok, in eastern Siberia, it has no rival in the Russian Empire. From a comparatively unimportant port about a year ago, dependent chiefly upon its sawmills and fishing fleet for prosperity, it has suddenly become one of the most important ports in the world, rivaling even New York in the number and tonnage of ships arriving and departing between about May 1 and the close of ice-free navigation. At the time of my visit in August about 120 large steamers were in port, and about 300 had arrived since May. An immense number of boats and barges are also engaged in river and canal navigation, many of them carrying as much as 2,000 tons each; these have been diverted largely from the lower Volga River traffic.

The Dwina River at Archangel is one to three miles wide, with a depth of twenty to forty feet. The tide from the White Sea amounts to about three feet. At the various piers and landing



ARCHANGEL, ONE OF THE BUSIEST PORTS IN THE WORLD
(Note the soldiers with prisoners)

stages the depth of water is usually twenty-two feet or more at low tide. Archangel is an extremely long but narrow city, extending only a few blocks eastward from the river, but with its suburbs and outlying houses northward it extends about thirty miles, or almost to the White Sea. The main street is about six miles long. For a distance of nearly forty miles south and north of the river almost to the White Sea there is now considerable shipping. In front of the main part of the city there are about thirty-five large piers, as against only three or four a year ago. Over 100 large warehouses have been built within a year.

With its sixty to seventy miles of river frontage available for ships drawing up to twenty-three feet, Archangel would be one of the finest ports in the world but for one thing,—ice. The Dwina River is connected with a magnificent system of inland waterways, making it possible to ship freight from Archangel by water to nearly every important town of European Russia. The railway communications of this seaport are not satisfactory, but are being improved as rapidly as possible. Something is also being done to mitigate the difficulties due to ice.

The river begins freezing in October, but is expected to be kept open from Archangel out through the White Sea till December. It is the intention this coming winter to maintain the present fortnightly service by steamers by the Russian-American Line from Archangel to New York until the end of January. Two of the largest

ice breakers in the world are now at Archangel, the *Canada* and the *Lintrose*, and it is understood that several more large ice breakers are being constructed in England for use here during the coming winter. During the late part of the season, incoming ships may be allowed, as they were last year, to get frozen in, unloading their cargoes on the ice, which is later broken to release the ships.

Since, however, the ice problem cannot be wholly solved at Archangel, the development of a permanently ice-free port elsewhere on the Arctic seaboard is a desideratum.

It is understood that rapid progress is being made with the construction of a railway across the Murman Peninsula to Kola, in Lapland, lying at the head of an estuary (twenty-seven miles long) of the Arctic Ocean, and it is hoped that this railway will be completed next January or February, so that Kola may succeed Archangel for winter use. Between the end of January and May 1 it will doubtless be impossible to keep Archangel open even with powerful ice breakers. Around this part of the Arctic Ocean the Gulf Stream finally dissipates itself, creating sufficient warmth to prevent the formation of any formidable ice . . . the Kola route is not expected to take the place of Archangel, except when the latter port is frozen up. In the summer time Kem and Soroka, as soon as they have railway facilities, may assist in relieving any congestion at Archangel. . . .

Archangel, owing to its sudden "boom," presents some of the aspects of towns in the western part of the United States, where sudden excitement has resulted from the discovery of valuable

minerals. A great number of houses, sheds, shops, etc., have suddenly been erected to accommodate the overwhelming rush of business, and especially to cater to the wants of the large number of ships and sailors now in the harbor. A tramway is being constructed along the main street of the town, and the local government is shortly to complete an electric light and power plant, which will not only furnish power for the street railway but also light the city. The present governor of Archangel is said to be extremely progressive and active in bringing about improvements in the city, and it has been due largely to his efforts that the tremendous congestion of freight at Archangel last spring has been so greatly relieved.

The city has a healthy, bracing climate all the year, but it is very cold in winter. From the standpoint of tourists, probably the most interesting feature of Archangel is the attractive fur shops, where all kinds of northern furs can be bought and where the great specialty is polar-bear skins from Nova Zembla and other near-by regions of the Arctic Ocean. The city has a population of 35,000 to 40,000. There is hotel accommodation for visitors, but it cannot be called excellent.

American cotton figures prominently

among the imports at Archangel, and it has suffered more or less damage from the weather while awaiting transshipment to the interior. Wheat is a leading article of export.

Apparently much of the wheat formerly exported from Black Sea or Baltic ports is now shipped from here. In August it was said that about 1,000,000 poods (18,000 short tons) were lying in port, while 15,000,000 or 20,000,000 poods (270,000 to 360,000 short tons) had been shipped since May. A curious feature in connection with the shipping at Archangel has been that comparatively small and unimportant cargoes have arrived from England, but extremely important and full cargoes, including especially eggs, butter, and flax, go to England, while ships from the United States arrive with full cargoes, but return practically in ballast, because most articles that Russia ordinarily exports to the United States are now embargoed from exportation except to allied nations.

Although several nations have consulates at Archangel, our country is not represented there even by a consular agent. Why?

THE WORLD-WAR AGAINST ALCOHOL

THIS magazine has frequently found opportunity to record the advance of prohibition movements in our own country and abroad. It seems fitting, therefore, to set forth at this time portions of two noteworthy articles on the subject which come to hand at almost the same moment. One is a summary of the situation in Europe, by Mr. Henry Carter, published in the *English Review of Reviews* (London), while the other is an exhaustive review of legislative action in the United States, by Mr. John Koren, published in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

First we quote from the English writer, regarding conditions in Europe. Speaking broadly, he believes that:

Thrift, efficiency, and the claims of national conscience are the factors compelling change. Food must be conserved; hence the use of grain and potatoes in brewing and distilling is checked. Soldiers and civilians must give their best in services; therefore drink, which depletes strength and blunts the edge of skill, comes under the ban of the state. As the tide of sorrow rises, as the sense of peril deepens, there awakens among the peoples a common protest against the carnal lust of intemperance; this moral factor impels and sustains the war of the governments against their "internal enemy."

BRITAIN, RUSSIA, FRANCE, ITALY

In evident apology for the comparative inaction of Great Britain, Mr. Carter avers

that "the end of the war-time anti-liquor campaign in Britain is not yet. We may see a near approach to prohibition on the national scale before many months are past." He then makes note of restrictive orders and legislation in Australia and Canada, where early closing hours for saloons are a feature. In Saskatchewan province the saloon has been abolished, and liquor is sold only in sealed packages at state "dispensaries." In Alberta province complete prohibition was recently adopted by popular vote.

In the case of Britain's allies, there is considerable to write about:

The story of Russia's emancipation from vodka has been told again and again. With a great price she bought her freedom, and Russian sobriety has gone far to sustain the nation and maintain the *morale* of her armies in the defeats which the shortage of munitions brought upon her. The prohibition of vodka has been rigidly maintained. . . . The enormous advances in savings-bank deposits, as a result of the new temperance of the people, and the gains to social order, are a notable vindication of the argument that to depose strong drink is to enthrone public welfare.

France has suppressed absinthe with a strong hand. Prohibition is no mere letter of the law. Stocks of the absinthe weed are seized and burned. A case tried in Hérault in July is significant: a distiller, proved guilty of manufacturing absinthe, was severely fined, charged quintuple excise duties, and his stock, valued

at \$10,000, confiscated; his total loss through law-breaking was estimated at \$46,000.

Italy, like France, has prohibited absinthe. No alcoholic liquor may now be sold to any young person under sixteen. In the Italian army the same tendency is seen as in the armies of other combatant nations: spirits are prohibited; the wine-ration is reduced; in "first-aid" outfits a bottle of syrup of coffee has replaced the bottle of brandy.

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, TURKEY

Exactly what is happening in the Teutonic empires and the domain of their Turkish ally is not known. But the main facts are clear.

The German genius for organization has grappled with the waste through liquor. . . . To preserve barley for bread, the quantity of beer which can be brewed throughout the empire is limited to 40 per cent. of the average output; local authorities were given power last March to limit or prohibit the sale of spirits; and in certain areas spirits must not be sold to soldiers in uniform.

Austria prohibited the malting of corn, cut down the week-day hours for the sale of drink to those between 9 A. M. and 5 P. M. and imposed Sunday closing on all shops where liquor only is sold.

Turkey, as a Mohammedan nation, ought to be free from intemperance. The strict rule of total abstinence from liquors has broken down in face of Western seductions. Hence the point of an Irade of the Sultan issued two months ago, making public drunkenness "a crime subject to trial and condemnation by court-martial."

Mr. Carter finds that recent restrictions of traffic in liquors are not confined to the countries at war, and he mentions regulations adopted in Switzerland, Denmark, and Sweden.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

The spread of prohibitory legislation in the United States has been so rapid, during the past thirteen months, that many people have failed to note the vastness of the results, while others have lost sight of the relation of recent events to the movement as a whole. In that short period the saloon has been entirely abolished in nine States.

Few men are better qualified than Mr. John Koren to write about prohibition in this country; and from his article in the *Atlantic Monthly* we summarize the following review of the growth of the movement. It will be understood that the statements—and in large part the words—are his.

Moral suasion was the sole reliance of the temperance reform in its earliest manifestations. . . . Then arouse a demand for force where

suasion appeared to fail, and the idea took of compelling temperance by prohibiting the manufacture and sale of all intoxicants, which found its first full-fledged expression in the State of Maine about 1850.

In the succeeding forty years, sixteen other commonwealths embraced the prohibition faith, but only three of the seventeen have clung to it steadfastly—Maine, Kansas, and North Dakota.

During the prohibition campaigns of the earlier periods, as now, the anti-saloon feeling was the mainspring of the agitation. In this detached students of the history of the prohibition movement concur without dissent. The saloon as we know it is distinctly the offspring of rough pioneer conditions, and whether one looked to the large urban centers or the sparsely settled new States, it had become not merely a center of inebriety and affiliated vices, but reached corruptingly into political life.

One result of the search for some constructive remedy,—in view of the failure of prohibition as exemplified by repeals of the law,—was

the high-license law of Nebraska, enacted in 1881, which automatically reduced the number of licensed places and thus was expected to secure better control. This device was eagerly adopted by a certain class of reformers, and, variously expanded, for instance by the statutory limitations of the number of saloons and a host of minor restrictive measures, it has remained the foundation-stone of those laborious structures, the modern license laws.

Another, and more important, heritage was the status secured for the principle of local option,—the right of the community to license or veto the drink traffic.

In the decade subsequent to 1890 the waters of temperance reform remained comparatively unruffled. One notable departure from the routine of temperance propaganda was when South Carolina established its dispensary system, whereby the State assumed supreme control of drink-selling.

The South was now ready to lend a willing ear. Several circumstances combined to make it so. The saloons, purveyors of distilled spirits almost exclusively, had grown notoriously lawless; drunkenness was rampant, and behind all loomed the specter, partly imagined, partly real, of danger from the uncontrolled elements among the Negroes. The dominant religious forces of the South, peculiarly adapted as a vehicle for temperance propaganda, lent their full strength to the movement against the saloon. . . . In the space of a few years Oklahoma, Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Mississippi outlawed the manufacture and sale of intoxicants. Alabama later recanted her faith for a time, but has again turned to prohibition.

The wash of the prohibition wave soon reached beyond the South. The most recent victories have been in Arkansas, Colorado, Oregon, Washington, Virginia, and West Virginia. [The adoption of Statewide prohibition in Arizona, Idaho, Iowa, and South Carolina seems to have escaped Mr. Koren's attention.]

Such is the history of the temperance movement in the United States. When it is asked what has been the actual gain for temperance from the ceaseless agitation, Mr. Koren finds the answer far from simple.

Over against the extravagant claims that more than half of the population of the United States has for several years experienced the

blessings of prohibition in some form, stand the irrefutable official figures of the production of alcoholic liquors. By successive stages the output of spirits, beer, and wine has risen, almost without a halt, and more than kept pace with the growth of population. . . . One undeniable inference must be drawn from the official statistics: the steady upward movement in the production of intoxicants could not have taken place during these years had both State and local prohibition been truly effective.

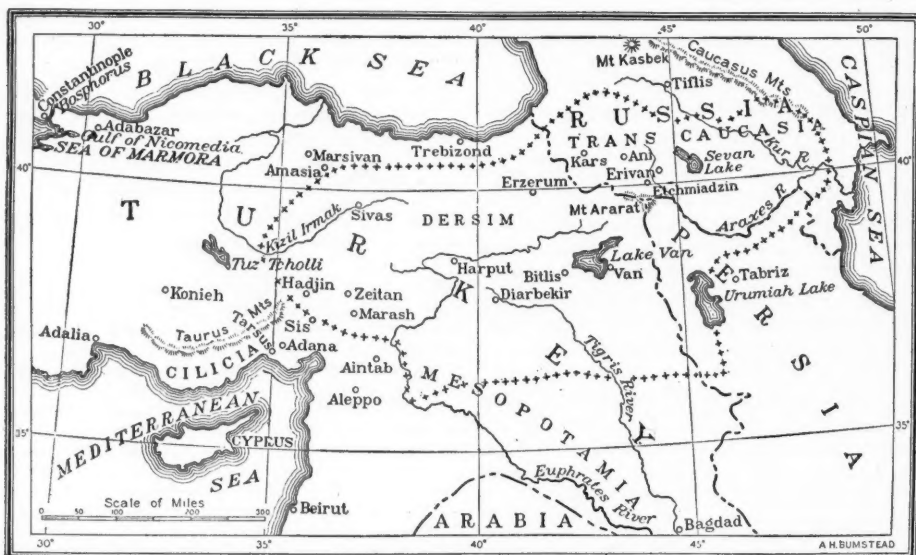
Even in the face of these statistics, Mr. Koren confidently asserts that there is a growing tendency toward personal moderation and practical abstinence, and that measurable progress has been made, during the past twenty or thirty years, toward sobriety and cleaner living.

ARMENIA AND THE ARMENIANS

THE word "Armenia" has almost ceased to be even a geographical expression. As Hester Donaldson Jenkins points out in the *National Geographic Magazine*, Armenia, to us Americans, means a vague territory, somewhere in Asia Minor. Roughly speaking, it is the tableland extending from the Caspian Sea nearly to the Mediterranean. Sovereignty over this area is now held by Russia, Turkey, and Persia. When Armenia itself was a kingdom it consisted of 500,000 square miles, extending from the Black

Sea and the Caucasus Mountains to Persia and Syria. This tableland reaches an elevation of 8000 feet above the sea, and then ascends abruptly to the peak of Mt. Ararat, 1000 feet higher than Mount Blanc.

This is a good grazing and farming country, so fertile that two melons are said to be a camel's load. It produces grapes, wheat, Indian corn, barley, oats, cotton, rice, tobacco, and sugar; all the vegetables that we know in America, and such fruits as quinces, apricots, nectarines, peaches, apples, pears,



From the *National Geographic Magazine*.

OUTLINE MAP SHOWING THE APPROXIMATE EXTENT OF ANCIENT ARMENIA (THE AREA INCLUDED WITHIN THE DOTTED LINE) AND THE COUNTRY WHERE THE ARMENIANS NOW LIVE

and plums. The country also has great mineral wealth which the Turkish Government has never permitted to be exploited.

Of the people who have lived for many generations on the Armenian tableland, this writer says:

Their appearance is definitely eastern; swarthy, heavy-haired, black-eyed, with aquiline features, they look more Oriental than Turk, Slav, or Greek. In general type they come closer to the Jews than to any other people, sharing with them the strongly marked features, prominent nose, and near-set eyes, as well as some gestures we think of as characteristically Jewish. The type is so pronounced that to those who are akin to them they seem often very handsome, while to westerners they seem a little too foreign-looking. Of course, the type is not always preserved; white skins, even an occasional rosy cheek, may be seen, and there is a small number of fair-haired and blue-eyed Armenians.

The resemblance to the Jews does not stop with physical features, for the fate of the two peoples has been sufficiently similar to bring out common traits. Like the Jew, the Armenian has been oppressed and persecuted, and has developed a strength of nationality, a love for his own people, and a persistence of type rarely seen



ARMENIANS TRAVELING BY BULLOCK CART

elsewhere. Like the Jew, he has learned to bend, not break, before the oppressor, and to succeed by artifice when opposed by force. How else had he survived? Like the Jew, he has developed strong business instincts, and like him he has a talent for languages, a power of concentration, and unusual artistic gifts. Both Jews and Armenians are very clever actors.

These resemblances, both physical and mental, have led scholars to question whether the Armenians may not be descended from the lost Ten Tribes of Israel; but philologists have concluded that the Armenian language is not Semitic but Aryan.

TREATING INFECTED WOUNDS WITH COLLOIDAL GOLD

AT a recent session of the French Academy of Sciences, there was presented a report upon the excellent results obtained by two French medical men, MM. Cunéo and Rolland, in the treatment of infected wounds by means of injections of colloidal gold. Observations of this new treatment were made upon a series of wounds in which infection persisted after surgical treatment.

Intravenous injections were made in some instances, and in this case from two to three cubic centimeters of the gold were injected. When intramuscular injection was deemed advisable larger amounts were used, even up to fifty cubic centimeters. Sometimes the gold was even injected in the peripheral zone of the infected region.

The method was found particularly useful where large traumatism of the limbs were concerned with infections occasioned by anaerobic species of germs, especially septic

vibrions, etc. In cases of abdominal wounds the gold was injected as a preventive of infection.

These facts have inspired a writer in *La Nature* (Paris) to reflect upon the curious history of the employment of gold as a medicine for untold centuries in various parts of the world. Undoubtedly its first employment was mystical or magical. As the sun-god has been universally an object of worship and a fountain of myth among primitive peoples, it was natural to consider gold as possessing some of the healing attributes of the sun, just as it possesses the beauty, brilliance, color, and incorruptibility of the sun. Moreover, it is not subject to poisonous corrosion, like copper and brass, so that a wound made by it is apt to heal swiftly.

Our author observes:

Entirely unknown remedies are exceedingly rare, even when presented in the most apparently

modern guises. Of late years we have seen heliotherapy, *i. e.*, medication by the sun, take an important place in our therapeutics. The ancients practised it regularly, just as they systematically practised the gymnastics and the massage which our modern specialists prescribe under the general name of kinesitherapy, or therapeutics by movement. . . .

Yet another example is chrysotherapy, or medication by gold. This, which has just received a triumphant resurrection, thanks to the employment of colloidal gold, was also practised by the ancients. Pliny says gold furnishes many remedies; thus: It is applied to wounded persons and to children, to diminish the power of spells of witchcraft. It acts as a bewitchment itself, especially to chicks and young lambs, when passed over their heads. In this case the remedy is to bathe the metal and afterward use the water to sprinkle those who are to be cured.

Used in other forms, Pliny declares gold will heal eruptions, fistulas, and hæmorrhoids, as well as dissipate purulent and fetid ulcers. Another writer, Pedacius Dioscoride, who lived at Anagarbe 36 B. C., also recommended gold as having the property of maintaining health and long life by the mere beauty of its color, and our author quotes him thus:

Gold taken by way of the mouth, whether consciously or unconsciously, never harms any one, as do many other metals; thus it stimulates

the heart and fortifies the vital spirits, all of which things are ascribed by philosophers to the influence of the sun. . . . Gold is put in medicaments prepared to expel the melancholic humors. Items to make a sovereign cautery it is well to use gold, for the wound it makes and the ulcer will ver. soon heal. Gold held in the mouth renders the breath good; gold filings brayed on a marble slab are good in medicaments to restore hair which has fallen out from scurf, and for eruptions taken by mouth and applied externally. When it has been so well pounded as not to be felt by the finger it is good to put in the eyes to clarify the vision. It is also drunk for affections of the heart.

The writer next refers to the well-known efforts of the alchemists of the middle ages to produce a potable gold, which was expected to prove an elixir of life. Paracelsus, in fact, claimed to have discovered it; however, he died while still under sixty. In the 18th and 19th century gold lost most of its fabulous repute as a medicine, with the exception of the much advertised and much ridiculed claims of the "Keeley gold cure," to which this writer does not even refer. But the value of colloidal gold as stated above seems to be indisputable, and Prof. Letulle recently declared before the French Academy of Medicine that he had obtained excellent results in typhoid fever from its use.

JUVENILE BOOK WEEK

SOME time ago the Boy Scouts of America became interested in raising the standard of books, and particularly stories, read by American boys. The Chief Scout Librarian, Mr. F. K. Mathiews, proposed last spring that a "Safety First Juvenile Book Week" be set apart just at the beginning of the holiday buying of children's books. Receiving the coöperation of the American Booksellers' Association and the American Library Association, Mr. Mathiews appointed the week, November 28—December 4, as a time when "booksellers should urge the public to shop early and buy the best books for their children and by window displays, newspaper advertisement, and circulars addressed to their best customers make it of interest to them to visit the stores at this time." The Boy Scout organization pledged its assistance and appeals were sent to librarians asking them to coöperate with the booksellers in an exhibit of the best books for children. Ministers were asked to preach upon "the iniquity of the modern thriller," and Women's Clubs, the Woman's Christian

Temperance Union, and other organizations were enlisted in the cause.

Seeing that one of the first needs would be a suggestive list of approved boys' books, Mr. Mathiews at once began the compilation of such a list. In this undertaking he did not attempt at the outset to learn the titles of the "best" books; but rather to ascertain which were the most popular, as evidenced by sales, and by library circulation. From the combined replies to his circular letters of inquiry (addressed to booksellers and children's librarians) a list of 1000 more or less permanent juvenile "best-sellers" was made up. Then, by successive eliminations, 300 titles were chosen, which were not only the books boys like best, but which were believed to be worthy of their liking. Boys will not have to be urged to read these books, for they are of their own choice. This finally selected list is printed as a special supplement to the *Publishers' Weekly* of October 23. The book trade is coöperating with the Boy Scout organization in distributing this list, and urging its adoption by parents and teachers.

THE NEW BOOKS

TIMES of great stress and tumult in the world must of necessity affect the writing of books and the painting of pictures, even as they affect the conduct of business and many aspects of life. Already it is clear that the great war is producing new kinds of poetry, as witness the remarkable volume of a New England poet, Lincoln Colcord, entitled "Vision of War," further notice of which we shall print next month. The struggle is also affecting both the subject-matter and the motive of the foremost writers of fiction. Undoubtedly in the field of literary art we shall have entered upon a new epoch dating from 1914.

But there is another sort of book, having less regard for literary form, that is related directly or indirectly to the war itself and to the international and historical problems and issues that have been brought forward by the profound controversies of the present period. In this general field there are books having to do with diplomacy and international relations. There are others having to do with government, democracy, and the foundations of states and empires. Others are concerned with the history, progress, and aspirations of particular races, nations, or peoples. Some of these are exceedingly argumentative and controversial. Others are purely for information.

We are this month making note of a good many volumes having to do with these current problems of politics, economics, and human society, in many aspects. For notes regarding a much larger number of such books of current interest, our readers are reminded that they have only to turn back to the previous pages of book notes as they have appeared month by month in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS during recent years.

Next month we shall give relatively larger attention to books of a more purely literary character. It is a time when more people than ever before are learning to think in broad terms, and are seeking a better acquaintance with the world of ideas. Writers find a more thoughtful and more awakened public. Readers, on the other hand, will not fail to find that there are many current books responding remarkably well to their demand for information or for intellectual stimulus.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

WE have had many estimates of the underlying causes of the great war, with attempts to apportion blame and praise while analyzing the complex rivalries of the European powers. Some of these have come from Germany, but a majority of them have been written from the standpoint of England and her allies. It is well to call attention to the analysis presented in a little book by Count Julius Andrassy, entitled by the American translator, Mr. Ernest J. Euphrat, "Whose Sin Is the World War?"¹ This is not a very good title, and Mr. Euphrat's English is not as clear and felicitous as it ought to be in view of the importance of Andrassy's work. But the book itself is a masterful essay by one of the foremost of Hungary's present-day statesmen, who represents also the views of his distinguished father. For, the present Count Andrassy is son of the great Austro-Hungarian Chancellor who, with Bismarck and Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield), thwarted Russia in the Congress of Berlin, and did much to render inevitable the series of wars that have attended the gradual disintegration of the Turkish Empire. Andrassy

writes calmly, and is wholly free from a certain tone that gives offense in the arguments of many current German writers. He makes a review of recent European history that is entitled to the most careful reading and study. The Hungarian leaders always think for themselves, and are never overfond of the Germans. But their dread of the Russians is the key to their historical attitude. Andrassy has always admired England and France, and he advocates a re-alignment of the European powers, to check Russia.



COUNT JULIUS ANDRASSY
(Hungarian statesman)

¹Whose Sin Is the World War? By Count Julius Andrassy. New York: New Era Publishing House. 154 pp. 50 cents.

Japan's Imperial Ambitions

Mr. Jefferson Jones is the name of a young American newspaper man who was working on an English daily in Tokio and was allowed to accompany the Japanese army, so that he actually saw the fall of Tsing-tao,¹ about which he writes a very intelligent book. Mr. Jones admires Japan, but strongly opposes the subjection of China, which he regards as the deliberate and virtually accomplished Japanese program. He gives us striking pictures of the growth of Japanese imperial ambitions, and declares that any possible trouble between Japan and the United States will grow solely out of Japan's ambition to dominate the Pacific Ocean and to control the destinies of China. The book is an exceptionally clear, interesting, and logical exposition of its point of view.

Three Able Books by German Scholars

From the Dillingham house there have appeared several books, of moderate size and uniform binding, written from the standpoint of Germany by German writers of exceptional ability. These are of higher quality than some of the books that appeared a year or more ago. Professor Ferdinand Tönnies is a well-known scholar, of international acquaintance. His little volume is called "Warlike England, As Seen by Herself."² It is a review of the history of the creation of the British Empire, summarizing the writings of English historians and publicists, with numerous quotations. Professor Seeley's "Expansion of England" and the writings of Green, Lecky, James Mill, and various others, are drawn upon to show how aggressive England has been in the centuries from the time of Queen Elizabeth down, to the Boer War.

Mr. Karl Federn, a well-known author who has given years of attention to French, English, and American literature and has written volumes in those fields of study, now presents a monograph on "The Origin of the War."³ His criticism is directed against the association of France and England with Russia. He sets the highest value upon English and French civilization, and the lowest upon that of Russia; and he has always labored to promote a Franco-German accord, in sympathy with England.

Another volume in this series is entitled "The Tragedy of Belgium."⁴ It utilizes the official material of the German Government in the effort to refute the charges of German atrocities against the Belgian people. Like all German books on the war, these three justify Germany's policy in the invasion of Belgium, on the ground that England and France were in secret alliance with the Belgian Government.

Belgian Neutrality Denied

Upon this point of the neutrality of Belgium, we have another book from the German standpoint, written by Dr. Alexander Fuehr.⁵ This

one is in the domain of international law; and it justifies Germany's action, on the ground that the treaty guaranteeing Belgium had been void for years, and that even if it had been in force international law would have justified Germany's action under the exceptional circumstances. It will be seen that the Germans now are justifying as legal what the German Chancellor at the time confessed to be illegal, but made necessary by military conditions. Dr. Fuehr's book, though not wholly convincing, is worth reading by students of international law and diplomacy, as are the other current books by German authors.

War and Economic Disaster

The present editor of the London *Economist* is Mr. F. W. Hirst, who supports not unworthily the great reputation of that journal created by Bagehot, Giffen, and their associates and successors. In his volume called "The Political Economy of War,"⁶ Mr. Hirst,—with calm logic and the measured statements of an authority in practical finance and a scholar in economic science,—answers questions that have been in the minds of many thoughtful Americans. He writes, in terms of history and comparison, about war debts. He analyzes the losses that come from war, and he does not minimize the misery and wretchedness, in the economic sense, that great wars inevitably produce. He devotes illuminating chapters to such subjects as the international trade in armaments and munitions; and shows without flinching what a dangerous conspiracy against the peace and happiness of mankind is involved in the inter-relationships of the immense corporations that make and sell the instruments of war. He shows how these concerns aggravate differences between countries, create war panics, and persuade one country after another to buy their materials in self-defense. This is a book that ought to be widely read by American bankers and business men, as well as by every member of Congress.

A Memorable French Forecast

A very notable tract, called "La Guerre qui vient," from the pen of Francis Delaisi, was published in Paris in 1911. It discussed a coming war in terms so remarkably prophetic that it has been thought worth while to translate it now into English and to publish the original French and the new English version on facing pages. The book as translated is called "The Inevitable War."⁷ Delaisi's object, four or five years ago, was to arouse the people of France to the danger of being forced into a position where they would fight England's battles for her on the plains of Belgium. Delaisi warned his fellow-Frenchmen against the plutocratic financiers, the international conspiracy of armament-makers, and the tremendous struggle for world-wide commercial power that the rival policies of England and Germany were rendering inevitable. He felt that France, unless awakened to her danger, was bound to become the victim of this great rivalry. He deplored the military and naval entente between France and England, and begged France to give up the spirit of revenge

¹ The Fall of Tsing-tao. By Jefferson Jones. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 215 pp., ill. \$1.75.

² Warlike England, As Seen by Herself. By Ferdinand Tönnies. Dillingham. 202 pp. \$1.

³ The Origin of the War. By Karl Federn. Dillingham. 207 pp. \$1.

⁴ The Tragedy of Belgium. By Richard Grasshoff. Dillingham. 243 pp. \$1.

⁵ The Neutrality of Belgium. By Alexander Fuehr. Funk & Wagnalls. 248 pp. \$1.50.

⁶ The Political Economy of War. By F. W. Hirst. Dutton & Co. 327 pp. \$2.

⁷ The Inevitable War. By Francis Delaisi. Small, Maynard & Co. 120 pp. \$1.

and avoid the disasters of a war with Germany. This book, like that of Mr. Hirst, on "The Political Economy of War," shows an insight not possessed by most of our current writers on the great struggle.

A Statistical Authority

In the preparation of the "Statesman's Year-Book" for 1915 the editors explain that they encountered unusual difficulty because they could not obtain the usual official coöperation from countries with which England is now at war. Nevertheless, this famous manual is more invaluable than ever for its unequalled range of authentic information regarding the governments, finances, armies and navies, populations, trade conditions, and many other aspects of all the nations and territories of the earth. In this period of aroused interest in world affairs nothing could be more commendable, for the intelligent citizen or family, than the habit of frequent appeal to the Statesman's Year-Book for precise data regarding matters of a statistical sort.

America, and British Sea Power

Professor Clapp, of New York University, in his book called "Economic Aspects of the War,"² deals in reality with the consequences, both to American trade and also to America's position as a neutral, of the British Orders in Council. Readers of this REVIEW will know that repeatedly for almost a year past we have pointed out the astonishing submission of our government at Washington to the violation by Great Britain of the rights of American trade. Precisely what our rights are,—as regards trade in non-contraband with Germany and unrestricted trade with neutrals,—is explained correctly and lucidly by Professor Clapp. What we have lost, from the standpoint of dollars and cents, and above all what we have sacrificed of national dignity, are set forth unanswerably in this book. There has never been a moment when, by the slightest hint, our Government could not have secured American rights *in toto*. Why it has not done so is a question that remains unanswered. Perhaps Professor Clapp can, through this bold challenge, obtain an intelligible reply from someone in authority.

America Should Accept British Orders

Mr. Ralph Norman Angell Lane is a well-known English newspaper man who has lived in the United States and especially in France. In 1909 he wrote a pamphlet called "Europe's Optical Illusion," taking the pen name of "Norman Angell." In 1911 he expanded that pamphlet into a book called "The Great Illusion," that was widely read. Both publications were duly noticed at the time in the pages of this REVIEW. Mr. Angell's logic was used to demonstrate the thesis that economic and commercial advantages could not be gained by military force; and he was commonly understood to hold the view that the much-dreaded European war could never come, because commercial and economic forces would prevent it. Mr. Angell's

new book, called "The World's Highway,"³ has to do with sea power, and its thesis is that the more completely England dominates the sea, and the more meekly neutrals like the United States yield to that domination and admit the superiority of belligerent rights over neutral rights, the more trade they are likely to have and the

better off they are likely to be. It does not seem to us that Mr. Norman Angell is as good a student or thinker upon these subjects as Mr. Edwin J. Clapp, whose book on "The Economic Aspects of the War" is noticed above, and who traverses some of the same ground. It is the best American opinion that the high seas should be neutralized. Belligerents should be put at every possible disadvantage. All legitimate trade of all countries,—neutral and belligerent alike,—should have international guarantee and protection, in times of war and in times of peace.



MR. FRANCIS W. HIRST,
EDITOR OF THE LONDON
"ECONOMIST"

(Whose remarkable book on the economic results of war is noticed on the preceding page)

History of American Diplomacy

A general survey of American diplomatic relations and of our foreign problems and policies has been much desired. Professor Fish covers the subject of a century and a quarter of American foreign affairs with notable fairness and intelligence.⁴ Those who would study particular matters more thoroughly will find, in this volume, ample citation of authorities. The book is readable and expository, so that it gives the reader definite points of view as well as generally accurate historical statements. Its résumé of the last twenty years is convenient, but lacking at some points in a grasp of the real play of political forces. The book is to be commended in high terms.

Principles of Government and Law

Back of the question how states can live together in the world, recognizing neutral rights and obligations, lies the question of the nature of the individual state itself. Never was there a time in which the meaning of government, the relation of the citizen to the state, the nature of law, and the citizen as lawmaker and as the subject of law, were matters of so much recognized concern as they are just now. Dr. David Jayne Hill is not only a great authority upon the history of the relationships of states with one another, but knows how to clarify the principles underlying democratic government. His

¹ The Statesman's Year-Book. Edited by J. Scott Keltie. Macmillan. 1536 pp. \$3.50.

² Economic Aspects of the War. By Edwin J. Clapp. Yale University Press. 340 pp. \$1.40.

³ The World's Highway. By Norman Angell. George H. Doran Company. 361 pp. \$1.50.

⁴ American Diplomacy. By Carl Russell Fish. Holt. 541 pp. \$2.75.

little book, "The People's Government,"¹ is philosophical rather than descriptive, and it answers better these questions as to the nature of government and law than any similar book that can be found in so brief a compass.

Liberty.—Its Present Dangers

Professor Burgess several years ago retired from his post as dean of the faculty of political science in Columbia University. But he has not abandoned the position he holds in the United States as a leading thinker and writer in the field of government, and as a man of intellectual courage and original views. The present volume, entitled "The Reconciliation of Government with Liberty,"² is a profound essay, tracing the development of the idea and the fact of the state through many centuries of Asiatic, European, and American history. Professor Burgess believes in that balance between authority and freedom that protects the individual in the exercise of as much unrestrained liberty of action, thought, and speech as is consistent with social stability. He

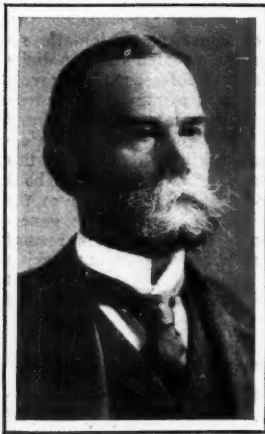
sees in the tendency to increase the authority and functions of those holding public office a very real menace to the liberty that ought to be the most treasured possession of democracies. As an essay in political history the book is notable.

Democracy.—An Eloquent Exponent

A book that is full of inspiration and that deserves many readers in the United States is entitled "Democracy and the Nations";³ and its author is the well-known editor of the *Toronto Globe*, Dr. J. A. Macdonald. Doctor Macdonald is one of the foremost leaders of the growing nation that shares the North American continent with the United States. He is as welcome south of the line as anywhere north of it. He is for the growth of the North American idea of liberty, democracy, and peace. He holds up Washington and Lincoln as leaders of the modern movement for popular government. The present volume consists of various addresses and papers, so brought together as to make a cumulative impression.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS

IN some respects the most important of current contributions to biography is Mr. William Roscoe Thayer's life of the late John Hay,⁴ who was Secretary of State during parts of the McKinley and Roosevelt administrations. Mr. Hay was in



JOHN HAY
(Poet and diplomat)

temperament a poet, and through most of his mature life he was a man of the most carefully guarded privacy. He was farthest removed from the acquaintanceships and activities of the typical "public man," it may be said, of anyone who has ever in American history attained in later life a position of so much official prominence.

Mr. Hay was an Illinois boy of marked talent (son of a country physician), who was at seventeen sent to Brown University, at Providence, for a college education. He was "literary" to his finger tips, entranced with the culture that he found in Providence, R. I., and full of loathing for the crude-

ness of the Middle West. If he could but have gone to Oxford in his youth, he would have become one of the great ornaments of contemporary letters, a major poet rather than a minor one, and an essayist and historian of high rank. But he was too sensitive for American conditions; and circumstances of personal ease were not conducive to great literary productivity.

Through a boyhood acquaintance with John G. Nicolay, private secretary to President Lincoln, Mr. Hay, soon after leaving college at twenty-one, became an assistant secretary in the White House. This was a great experience for the quick-witted, imaginative youth. Soon after the war he was attached to the diplomatic service, and gained European experience. For a time he was a writer on the *New York Tribune*, where he knew Whitelaw Reid intimately. Subsequently, he was associated with Mr. Nicolay in preparing a biographical chronicle of the life of Abraham Lincoln, and in compiling Lincoln's writings and official papers.

Mr. Thayer is frank at many points beyond what would be thought discreet by the ordinary biographer; but in the long run truth is best and Mr. Thayer realizes it. When Mr. McKinley appointed John Hay as American Ambassador at London, most American public men and some of the best-informed newspaper men, knowing John Hay only by the "Pike County Ballads" of his youth, and not having heard of him in many years,—supposed him to be dead. Mr. Thayer, however, explains that John Hay, through circumstances of affluence, was one of the group of men called upon by Mark Hanna to make up the large sum of McKinley's private indebtedness, save him from bankruptcy, and promote his nomination by the Republicans. The reader is compelled to infer that private debts were paid with public offices.

Anyhow, Mr. Hay was in thoroughly congenial surroundings when he went to London, although perhaps no American ever so much dreaded hav-

¹ *The People's Government*. By David Jayne Hill. D. Appleton & Co. 286 pp. \$1.25.

² *The Reconciliation of Government with Liberty*. By John W. Burgess. Scribners. 394 pp. \$2.50.

³ *Democracy and the Nations*. By J. A. Macdonald. George H. Doran Company. 244 pp. \$1.35.

⁴ *The Life of John Hay*. By William Roscoe Thayer. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 2 vols., — pp. \$5.

ing to speak in public occasionally. When McKinley brought him back from London and made him Secretary of State, Hay was in surroundings of just the opposite kind. He was not acquainted with Senators, much less with ordinary politicians. The fact that the Senate had to discuss and ratify treaties was violently distasteful to him. He was in ill health, and morbidly sensitive. His personality was so exquisitely refined, and his ideals were so elevated, that it took some time for the Senate to realize how limited was his grasp of some matters of fundamental importance in American policy. Mr. Thayer has the wisdom to go very lightly over this official part of the career of John Hay, and lets us see the real personality of the man in his letters and various relationships. Mr. Hay as a famous Secretary of State is not the theme of the present biography. But Mr. Hay,—John Milton Hay, as his name was until after he left college,—as a lover of poetry, a writer of high quality and distinction, and a personage of rare tastes, is well worthy of the labors of so accomplished a biographer as Mr. Thayer. And Mr. Hay's personality rather than his statesmanship is what Mr. Thayer has endeavored to set forth.

Mr. George Haven Putnam, in his "Memories of a Publisher: 1865-1915,"¹ gives us more chapters of his reminiscences. We have had occa-

sion to notice previous volumes based upon his earlier experiences. The present one is apropos of a great number of men with whom, as a prominent publisher, he had come into relations with in Europe and America. Mr. Putnam, early last year, was complimented by friends and associates upon his seventieth birthday. His work as a publisher, a writer, and a citizen of New York, active in many important movements, goes on with no abatement that can be discerned. This book contains kindly tributes to many people who had the benefit of the author's acquaintance.

Henry Codman Potter was much more than a bishop in the Episcopal Church; he was an eminent citizen of New York, of wide sympathies and noble personality. His father was Alonzo Potter, Bishop of Pennsylvania, and his mother was the daughter of the famous Dr. Nott, president of Union College. Dean Hodges, of the Harvard Episcopal Theological School, is the biographer of Bishop Potter,² and no one could have performed this service more acceptably. Not only was the subject of this volume a wise and broad-minded servant of an ecclesiastical organization, but he was a most human and sympathetic figure in the life of the metropolis, with an ever-growing sense of his mission towards the great public, and especially the so-called "working classes."

Further Reminiscence and Biography

In the Footsteps of Napoleon. By James Morgan. Macmillan. 524 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

Mr. Morgan's method in preparing this outline of famous scenes in the life of Napoleon was to study the places and countries with which that unique career was identified, beginning with Napoleon's birthplace and ending on the island of St. Helena.

Pleasures and Palaces. By Princess Lazarevich-Hrebelianovich. Century. 360 pp. Ill. \$3.

The author of this volume of memoirs was formerly Miss Eleanor Calhoun, of California, a grandniece of the South Carolina statesman, John C. Calhoun. Miss Calhoun had a successful career on the stage in England and France, chiefly in Shakesperian parts, and originated the custom of giving pastoral plays in the natural forest setting. Her recollections of English social life and of French artistic life in the latter years of the nineteenth century are vivacious and entertaining.

Old Boston Museum Days. By Kate Ryan. Little, Brown. 264 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

The Boston Museum broke all American traditions by maintaining a stock company and giving theatrical performances without interruption for a period of nearly half a century. Miss Ryan herself was one of the most popular members of the company from 1872 to the close of the Mu-

¹Memories of a Publisher: 1865-1915. By George Haven Putnam. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 492 pp. \$2.

²Henry Codman Potter. By George Hodges. Macmillan. 386 pp., ill. \$3.50.



PRINCESS LAZAREVICH-HREBELIANOVICH
(Formerly Miss Eleanor Calhoun of California)

seum in 1893. Her book contains reminiscences of many noted actors and actresses who played annual engagements at the Museum with stock company support.

Vagrant Memories. By William Winter. Doran. 525 pp. Ill. \$3.

In this volume the honored dean of American dramatic critics continues the recollections of the stage so attractively set forth in "Other Days," which appeared seven years ago. "Vagrant Memories" harks back to William Warren, Laura Keane, Lester Wallack, Edwin Booth, Augustin Daly, and Henry Irving, and also comments on such moderns as Forbes-Robertson, Sothorn, and Julia Marlowe.

Davy Crockett. By William C. Sprague. Macmillan. 189 pp. Ill. 50 cents.

A condensed biography of the hero of the Alamo. We are assured by the author that the proof was read and approved by a grandson of the pioneer. In this career of a scant fifty years, ending in tragedy, was epitomized the early history of Texas.

Christopher Columbus. By Mildred Stapley. Macmillan. 240 pp. Ill. 50 cents.

The story of the discoverer revised in the light of modern research. The writer, while critical and discriminating in dealing with the traditions associated with her hero's career, is at the same time sympathetic.

The Heart of Lincoln. By Wayne Whipple. George W. Jacobs Co. 101 pp. Ill. 50 cents.

A series of anecdotes and reminiscences arranged in chronological order, with a connecting thread of narrative.

Baron D'Holbach. By Max Pearson Cushing. Paper. 108 pp.

A sketch of one of the leaders of French radicalism in the period preceding the Revolution.

The work was submitted as one of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Columbia University.

Camille Desmoulins. By Violet Methley. Dutton. 332 pp. Ill. \$5.

A well-written biography of the famous French revolutionist, the friend of Danton and Robespierre.

Robert Louis Stevenson. By Amy Cruse. Stokes. 190 pp. Ill. 75 cents.

An excellent, condensed biography of one of the most popular of latter-day writers in the English language. The chapters on Stevenson's life in America are of exceptional interest.

Court Life from Within. By H. R. H. Eulalia. Dodd, Mead. 266 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

The Infanta Eulalia is remembered in the United States as the official representative of Spain at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893. As a member of the Spanish royal family she had visited the courts of Europe for years before this journey to the United States. The present volume of recollections is distinguished for the frankness of its statements and the undisguised devotion of the writer to the principles of democracy. This daughter of the Houses of Bourbon and Hapsburg stands forth from these pages as a self-confessed convert to democratic principles.

Memories and Anecdotes. By Kate Sanborn. Putnam. 219 pp. Ill. \$1.75.

Miss Sanborn's recollections touch upon a great number of distinguished Americans of the last generation. To name only a few of these, there are the poet John G. Saxe, President Barnard of Columbia College, Henry Ward Beecher, Horace Greeley, Miss Edna Dean Procter, Dr. Edward Everett Hale, Grace Greenwood, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Julia Ward Howe, Mary E. Livermore, Walt Whitman; and Miss Sanborn has "memories" or "anecdotes," or both, to relate concerning each of these distinguished personalities and many others.

HISTORY

NORMANDY has had a continuous existence of more than a thousand years. Its people have conquered and been conquered; its rulers have ruled other lands and in turn have yielded to superior might; but from 911, when the Vikings landed on the northern coast of France, to 1915 the Norman strain in the current of European history has been distinctive. Even the Western Hemisphere has felt its influence; for it helped to colonize Canada, just as centuries before it had made England its own. A veritable mother of empires was Normandy and the Norman fighting to-day for the French tricolor against the Teutonic invader has for his ally the descendant of those very Norman dukes who in the eleventh and twelfth centuries laid the foundations of imperial Britain.

Historians have studied and written from time to time about the part played by the Normans in England and on the continent of Europe; but it

remained for an American scholar, Professor Charles H. Haskins, of Harvard University, to correlate this knowledge and to present in outline the Norman contribution to the statecraft and culture of Europe. This he does in his attractive book entitled "The Normans in European History."¹ This work, which has a literary charm that is rare in historical treatises, pictures the Norman of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries in relation to his times, as a founder of states.

The lasting influence of Norman institutions as seen in the law and government of England to this day is properly emphasized, and other achievements of that virile race in France and in the South of Italy are narrated in a few graphic chapters, the whole comprised in a volume of 250 pages. This is a brief treatment of

¹ The Normans in European History. By Charles H. Haskins. Houghton, Mifflin. 253 pp. \$2.

a big subject, but is very far from a cursory or superficial treatment. The author was prepared for his task by much travel and observation in Norman lands and by extended research in the archives of Europe. A trained, historical sense, like the intelligent reporter's "nose for news," gave him the power to select from the mass of detail the essential facts and to present them to the reader with due regard to proportion.

A "popular" treatise in the finest sense, "The Normans in European History" is based on the most painstaking and exacting research and is in every way creditable to American scholarship.

A rather sumptuous volume called "Gridiron Nights" is primarily a narrative and record of the remarkable dinners given during the past thirty years by a famous club of newspaper correspondents at Washington. It is, however, much more than a series of chatty reminiscences; it becomes a volume of contemporary political history, and preserves a collection of jests, witticisms, and current allusions, that will be of almost priceless value to the historian fifty or a hundred years hence. For it conveys the real flavor of politics in the period that brought to the front our McKinleys, Tom Reeds, Bryans, Tafts, Roosevelts, "Uncle Joe" Cannons, Fairbankses, and several hundred others. Never had king's jester greater license than the Gridiron Club has enjoyed with Presidents, Chief Justices, Senators, Governors, and notabilities at large. The cleverness and agreeableness of its programs have only been exceeded by their audacity. It has always been a wonder how the busy and very responsible members of the Gridiron Club could put so much exuberance, as well as wit and satire, into their two or three dinners a year. They have always struck high points in Presidential politics, and have caricatured every public man of the day



PRESIDENT WILSON

Th' applause of listening Senates to command
When Senates do not merely laud, but listen;
To have a certain party cut out of his hand
Are Woodrow's triumphs, and are solely his'n.

Hail to the Chief, the Common People's friend!
May health and fortune's smile be ever thine;
May the whole nation's praise thy steps attend,
And 1916 bring a Valentine!

FROM A RECENT "GRIDIRON" PROGRAM

without malice and for his own best good. Mr. Arthur Wallace Dunn, who has written much for the REVIEW OF REVIEWS and is a veteran member of the Gridiron Club, has prepared this volume with a keen instinct for the relation of current politics to American history.

Other Historical Publications

Readings in American History. By David Saville Muzzey. Boston: Ginn. 594 pp. \$1.50.

Planned as a companion volume to Doctor Muzzey's "American History," this source-book draws freely on personal letters, diaries, and memoirs, as well as acts of Congress, judicial opinions, executive documents, official reports, and books of travel. The selections are admirable.

Source Problems in English History. By Albert Beebe White and Wallace Notestein. Harper. 413 pp. \$1.30.

A skilful grouping of historical sources for the threefold purpose of tracing the development of the English Government, the connection between English institutions and those of New England, and the continuity of English and American history.

High Lights of the French Revolution. By Hilaire Belloc. Century. 301 pp. Ill. \$3.

Of Hilaire Belloc's supremacy among contemporary writers on French history nothing need be

¹ Gridiron Nights. By Arthur Wallace Dunn. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 371 pp. ill. \$5.

said. No writer in English stands higher. The present volume consists of a series of graphic, picturesque episodes, remarkable for fidelity to fact and the absence of bias or prejudice.

Evolution of the English Corn Market. By Norman Scott Brien Gras. Harvard University Press. 498 pp. \$2.50.

This study of the English corn (grain) trade from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries is based on manuscript materials now utilized for the first time. It interprets the so-called corn laws of England from the viewpoint of the actual condition of the trade itself.

Economic History of England. By E. Lipson. Macmillan. 552 pp. \$2.50.

This volume, which is confined to the Middle Ages, makes use of much documentary material that has only lately been made available as a source.

The Irish Abroad. By Elliot O'Donnell. Dutton. 400 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

A record of the achievements of great Irish-

men the world over. There are also accounts of the various Irish brigades that have served in the United States, France, Spain, Austria, Italy, and Africa. Indeed, the history of the Irish has practically been made "abroad."

The Story of the American Merchant Marine. By John R. Spears. Macmillan. 340 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

An especially useful account of the rise and fall of our merchant shipping. It should be read by all Senators and members of Congress in connection with the renewed debate on the Shipping bill.

The Man of War. By Commander E. Hamilton Currey. Stokes. 297 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

British naval history told in an entertaining manner by a retired officer.

French Memories of Eighteenth-Century America. By Charles H. Sherrill. Scribner's. 335 pp. Ill. \$2.

American social customs of Revolutionary days as described by observant French visitors. Many highly interesting facts, all derived from writings of the period, are preserved in this attractive volume.

The Fighting Cheyennes. By George Bird Grinnell. Scribner's. 431 pp. \$3.50.

The story of an Indian tribe that was always famous for its warfare with other aborigines,

but was at peace with the whites until the middle of the last century. Almost everything that has been written about the American Indians has given the white man's viewpoint exclusively. The distinction of Mr. Grinnell's book is that it gives the Indian's own story, side by side with the white historian's, and permits the reader to draw his own conclusions.

Brissot de Warville. By Eloise Ellery. Houghton, Mifflin. 527 pp. \$1.75.

An important contribution to the Vassar semi-centennial series of books by the alumnae of the college is this study in the history of the French Revolution by Dr. Eloise Ellery of the Department of History. This volume would be noteworthy, if for no other reason, because it is the first life of Brissot, who held a place in the front rank of the Girondists and met death with the courage of his convictions in the fateful year, 1793. But the facts that Dr. Ellery has disclosed concerning Brissot's career as a journalist, philanthropist, and political agitator afford ample justification for such a work as this. One interesting episode in Brissot's life was his visit to the United States in the year before the outbreak of the French Revolution. His travels in this country are related in a book which was published in France a year or two before his death. The range of material drawn upon by Dr. Ellery makes her book much more than a biographical sketch of an individual; it is, in fact, a history of the times in which Brissot lived and moved. A bibliography of over fifty pages is appended.

Travel, Adventure, Description

The Lion Hunter. By Ronaleyn Gordon-Cumming. Outing Publishing Company. 378 pp. \$1.

An excellent selection of the best parts of the two-volume account already published of the famous African hunting adventures of Ronaleyn Gordon-Cumming. This noted English sportsman challenged the dangers of the chase in South Africa some seventy years ago. At that time the

beasts of prey still swarmed the plains in herds of thousands, and the flash of firearms had not yet become familiar to them. All the wide variety of African game crossed his path. The perils of pioneer hunting in this dangerous ground, when guns had not reached their modern state of perfection, add peculiar zest to these personal narratives.

Log of the Snark. By Charmian Kittredge London. Macmillan. 487 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

This "Log" is an accurate and continuous account, in diary form, of the adventurous voyage of the *Snark*. In this fifty-seven-foot vessel, it will be remembered, Mr. and Mrs. Jack London sailed from San Francisco in the spring of 1907, and touched at Hawaii, Samoa, and Marquesas, Fiji, the New Hebrides, Tynee, the Solomons, and many other islands in the South Seas. The long voyage was filled with interesting experiences, vivaciously recounted by Mrs. London, who kept the log, which is illustrated from photographs taken by the party.

Memories of India. By Sir Robert Baden-Powell, K.C.B. Philadelphia: David McKay. 363 pp. Ill. \$3.50.

The author of these "memories" is well known to Americans, not only for his reputation as an English soldier, but for his promotion of the Boy-Scout movement. His modesty leads him to attach little value to what he has set down. Nev-



MARQUESANS DANCING A TAHITIAN HULA TO HAWAIIAN MUSIC ON AN AMERICAN PHONOGRAPH
(From "Log of the Snark")

ertheless, the reader will find in this volume a collection of most interesting reminiscences of a British soldier's life in that land of romance and mystery, India. There are many delightful anecdotes in which appear well-known names like Lord Roberts, Winston Churchill, and General Smith-Dorrien—now active at the front.

Paris Reborn. By Herbert Adams Gibbons. Century. 395 pp. Ill. \$2.

Paris, always interesting to people all over the world, became even more so on the outbreak of the war. How the gay capital took the new order of things and adjusted itself,—the mobilization, business conditions, the visits of the German "Taubes," the official censorship, preparations for defense, and the new spirit of the people,—all these things and many more were set down day by day during the first five months of the war and collected by Dr. Gibbons in this readable volume. Full-page illustrations in tint, by Lester G. Hornby, accompany the text.

The Gypsy's Parson. By Rev. George Hall. Lippincott. 307 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

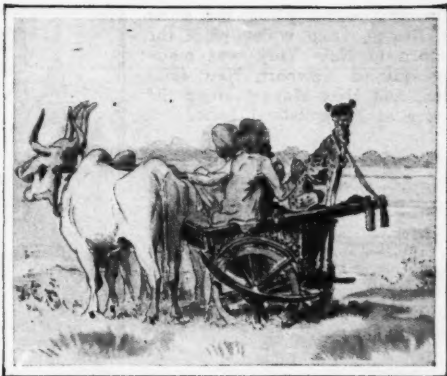
Here is a clergyman who has followed "the Romany patteran" and tells about his experiences with the English Gypsies. He has "companied with them on fell and common, racecourse and fairground, on the turfy wayside and in the city's heart." He has shared their hedgehog meals, slept in their tents, and listened to their yarns. Those who are interested in this peculiar people will find here first-hand information about them, and also some excellent pictures of Gypsy types.



GYPSY CHILDREN
(From "The Gypsy Parson")

The New Russia. By Alan Lethbridge. Dutton. 309 pp. Ill. \$5.

Mr. Lethbridge's book is based on a journey of some thousands of miles in northern Russia and Siberia. He started from the port of Archangel, proceeding by the Dwina River and the railroad to Omsk, and then up the Irtysh to Sempolatsinsk, returning by rail to Petrograd. This journey was made early in the summer of 1914, and the author had opportunity to witness mobilization activities in many of the cities. He was favorably impressed by the various Russian troops and officers that came under his observation, and his comments on the character of the people, their courtesies and good nature, are graphic and illu-

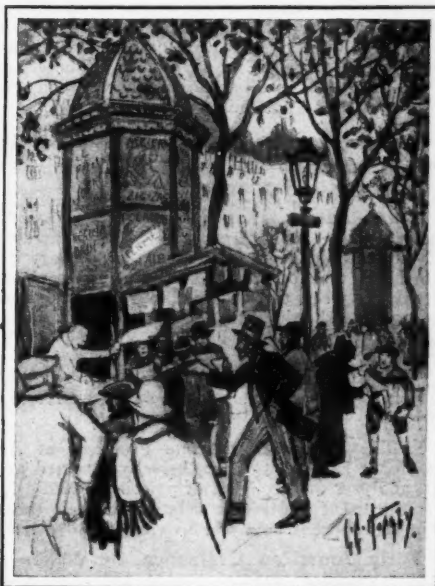


FROM "MEMORIES OF INDIA," BY SIR ROBERT
BADEN-POWELL

minating. The dominant impression Mr. Lethbridge seemed to derive from his travels was the vastness of Russia and the tremendous richness of her natural and industrial resources,—all inviting development. His up-to-date survey of one of the greatest of the warring countries is especially timely and interesting.

We Discover New England. By Louise C. Hale. Dodd, Mead. 314 pp. Ill. \$2.

This vivacious account of a tour of the New England States is especially suggestive to motorists who wish to see the Berkshires, the Green and the White Mountains on a single trip. The start was made from New York, the general course being northerly, skirting the Berkshires and the Green Mountains to Burlington, Vermont, thence east to Bethlehem and the White Mountains in New Hampshire, across Maine to

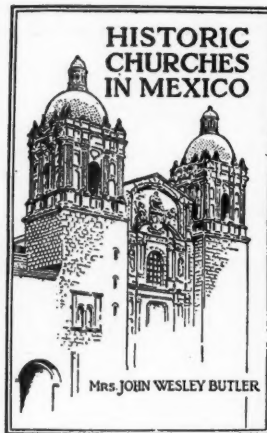


FROM "PARIS REBORN"

Portland, south along the coast to Boston, from which point the return to New York was made by way of Newport, New London, and New Haven, along the shore of Long Island Sound.

Storied Italy. By Mrs. Hugh Fraser. Dodd, Mead. 344 pp. Ill. \$3.50.

Mrs. Fraser has incorporated in this book a number of famous romances and fairy tales associated with Rome and other Italian towns. There are also several chapters from the biographies of distinguished personages and the author has inserted an account of the death of Pius X and the accession of Pope Benedict.



Historic Churches in Mexico. By Mrs. John Wesley Butler. Abington Press. 355 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

Most readers of this book will doubtless be surprised not only by the number of church buildings in Mexico that are fairly entitled to be called "historic," but by the intrinsic interest of the historical facts that are grouped about these churches. Even in those instances where the line between history and legend is ill-defined, the interest is not lacking. Most of the Mexican churches owe their importance, as Mrs. Butler points out, to some special image, painting, or cross. Mrs. Butler writes from an experience of thirty-six years as a resident of Mexico.

Art and Music

Heart of Europe. By Ralph Adams Cram. Scribner's. 325 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

A survey of the architectural monuments and the art treasures in those European countries that are directly affected by the great war. The opening chapter,—"A Sanctuary Laid Waste,"—refers to those Belgian and French towns that have already been despoiled by the invader.

Fountains of Papal Rome. By Mrs. Charles MacVeagh. Scribner's. 250 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

Hardly less famous for the number and variety of her public fountains than for her churches, is the Eternal City. This book describes the more remarkable of these works of art. There are fourteen full-page illustrations drawn and engraved on wood by Rudolph Ruzicka.

The Architecture of Colonial America. By Harold Donaldson Eberlein. Little, Brown. 289 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

A well-ordered history and analysis of American colonial architecture, with a large number of illustrations from photographs by Mary H. Northend and others. The book distinguishes clearly between the Colonial and the American Georgian and brings out the various local variations.

Masterpieces of Painting. By Louise Rogers Jewett. Boston: Richard G. Badger. 160 pp. Ill. \$1.

In this little book the late Professor of Art at Mount Holyoke College, herself a trained artist, analyzes the problems of painting and considers the great masters in relation to their times. The treatment is both scholarly and appreciative.

Early American Craftsmen. By Walter A. Dyer. Century. 382 pp. Ill. \$2.40.

In this volume Mr. Dyer pictures a group of

men of whom little has been known to the present generation, although their creations have been sought by fanciers of "antiques." Architecture, carving, glass-making, pottery, and other crafts are represented.

Pottery. By George J. Cox. Macmillan. 200 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

A convenient manual for artists, craftsmen, and teachers, illustrated by the author. An historical summary serves as an introduction.

Modern Painting. By Willard Huntington Wright. Lane. 352 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

The last word (in English) on the tendencies and relative importance of the various art schools and movements in Europe from the early decades of the nineteenth century down to the outbreak of the great war.

The Barbizon Painters. By Arthur Hoeber. Stokes. 296 pp. Ill. \$1.75.

Discriminating comments on the work of Millet, Rousseau, Diaz, Dupré, Daubigny, Corot, Troyon, and Jacques, sometimes known as the Men of the Thirties,—the Barbizon School.

The Art Treasures of Great Britain. By C. H. Collins Baker. Dutton. Ill. \$5.

Photogravure reproductions of famous pictures in the public and private galleries of Great Britain, with descriptive text.

Piano Mastery. By Harriette Brower. Stokes. 299 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

A series of suggestive "talks" with master pianists and teachers, including Paderewski, von Bülow, and, among American artists, Dr. Mason and Dr. Sherwood. Miss Brower, herself a musician, summarizes these teachings.

Books Describing the War

A Hilltop on the Marne. By Mildred Aldrich. Houghton, Mifflin. 186 pp. ill. \$1.25.

Quite by chance an American woman, Miss Mildred Aldrich, found herself in the very center of the battlefield of the Marne in the eventful September days of 1914. She had lived for many years in Paris, but in June, 1914, bought a cottage in the Marne valley and two months later the final British artillery stand of the battle that checked the German advance on Paris was made just behind her cottage. The advance of the Germans was definitely turned back at her very gates. Her letters, written from day-to-day to friends in this country, make up this little book; and this simple unpretentious narrative gives a sense of reality that is often lacking in formal military reports.



AN AMERICAN WOMAN'S HOME WITHIN THE BATTLE ZONE OF THE MARNE VALLEY
(From "A Hilltop on the Marne," by Mildred Aldrich)

Young Hilda at the Wars. By Arthur Gleason. Stokes. 213 pp. ill. \$1.

Mr. and Mrs. Gleason were engaged for many weeks in ambulance work in Belgium, much of the time under heavy fire. This little sketch is one of the fruits of that experience. The book is really more than a story; based as it is on the stern realities of the war, it becomes a contribution to history.

My Year of the Great War. By Frederick Palmer. Dodd, Mead. 464 pp. \$1.50.

More than a year ago we had occasion in these pages to notice Mr. Frederick Palmer's story, "The Last Shot." This book appeared only a few months before the great war began, and attempted to tell what a modern conflict between two great land powers in Europe might be like. It did forecast very accurately the part which artillery would play in such a war, and suggested the intrenching of great masses of troops along a national frontier. Since then Mr. Palmer has had opportunities to see the actual working out of what had been only mental conceptions of modern warfare. He was the only American correspondent permitted by Lord

Kitchener to go to British headquarters in France and for a long time, indeed, he was the only American correspondent who had permission to visit the British lines. This new book, "My Year of the Great War," tells something of what he has seen of the war on both land and sea. He saw the Battle of the Marne, and visited the British Fleet, and his experience as a correspondent in earlier wars gave him the best of equipment for intelligent observation.

The Log of a Noncombatant. By Horace Green. Houghton, Mifflin. 167 pp. ill. \$1.25.

The author of this book is a staff correspondent of the New York *Evening Post* who saw the bombardment and the surrender of Antwerp and other episodes of the war in Belgium.

France at War. By Rudyard Kipling. Doubleday, Page. 130 pp. 50 cents.

This booklet is made up of Mr. Kipling's observations on the way in which France has faced her crisis, prefaced by his own poem first published in 1913.

Economics: Sociology

The Prevention and Control of Monopolies. By W. Jethro Brown. Dutton. 198 pp. \$2.25.

An English argument largely concerned with conditions in Australia and other parts of the British Empire. The work was completed just prior to the outbreak of the war.

Politics and Crowd-Morality. By Arthur Christensen. Dutton. 270 pp. \$2.50.

Essays by an eminent Danish publicist who foresees the breakdown of the Parliamentary system throughout the world owing to changed conditions among the civilized democracies.

Life Insurance. By Solomon S. Huebner. Appletons. 468 pp. \$2.

A textbook prepared by the Professor of Insu-

rance and Commerce, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania.

National Defense. White Plains, N. Y.: H. W. Wilson Company. 243 pp. \$1.

A new volume in the *Debaters' Hand-Book Series* containing selections from up-to-date discussions of the subject.

Our National Defense: The Patriotism of Peace. By George H. Maxwell. Washington: Rural Settlements Association. 392 pp. \$1.25.

A discussion of the national defense problem from the viewpoint of the conservation of national resources. This is the fourth volume in the *Homecrofters' Series*.

ARTISTIC BOOKS FOR THE YOUNG

AMONG the pictorial books of the season that make a special (though not an exclusive) appeal to young people, there are a few new editions of standard works that merit notice because of the exceptional quality of the illustrators' work. Arthur Rackham's pictures, for example, in black-and-white as well as in color, must contribute



mightily to the effect of Dickens' "Christmas Carol" on those who will read the tale in this attractive dress for the first time. A certain weirdness that has been often noted in Rackham's drawings

these stories is supposed to be War Eagle, a chief who takes on the character of a sort of Indian Uncle Remus. American children have never enjoyed a very extensive acquaintance with true Indian folklore. This book preserves characteristic legends that have been handed down for generations among the Blackfeet, Chippewa, and Cree tribes. So far as a white man can enter into the spirit of Indian myths, Mr. Russell has done so in his drawings, ten of which are in color.

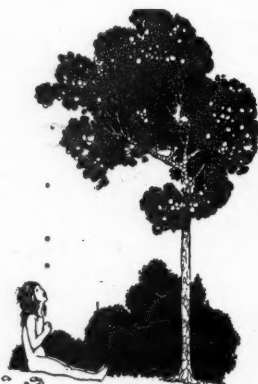
Three new books of fairy stories,—"The Kingdom of the Winding Road,"⁵ by Cornelia Meigs; "Shoe and Stocking Stories,"⁶ by Elmor Mordaunt; and "Kisington Town,"⁷ by Abbie Farwell Brown, are illustrated, respectively, by Frances White, Harold Sichel, and Ruby Winckler. Boys and girls from six to twelve will find much entertainment in these volumes.

gives them a peculiar charm in association with such a story as the Dickens masterpiece.

At least two generations of children have enjoyed "Hans Brinker, or The Silver Skates,"⁸ by Mary Mapes Dodge, but in 1915 the story has been illustrated in color for the first time. George Wharton Edwards, whose studies of Dutch subjects in water-color had already given him distinction in that field, was chosen to make the drawing and decorations. Old friends of Mrs. Dodge's classic will agree, we think, that his pictures faithfully interpret its spirit.

"The Water Babies,"⁹ by Charles Kingsley, has been illustrated times without number. It gives the picture-maker wide scope in the exploitation of all manner of whimsical conceits. An artist who has fairly reveled in this opportunity is W. Heath Robinson, whose individuality has full play in the new Houghton, Mifflin edition of that attractive fairy tale.

Of the juvenile books that are new in text as well as illustration we should place on the first shelf "Indian Why Stories,"¹⁰ by Frank B. Linderman, with pictures by Charles M. Russell, who is known as "the cowboy artist." The narrator of



"UNDER THE FLAPDOOLE TREES"

(Drawing by Heath Robinson for the new edition of Kingsley's "Water Babies")

many kinds of fun a group of children can have with Shetland ponies.

The season's picture-books for the nursery include: "When Christmas Comes Around,"—stories by Priscilla Underwood, with full-page pictures

"Little Pierre and Big Peter,"¹¹ by Ruth Ogden, recalls us from fairyland to the realm of the actual, or at least the possible. This is the tale of a warm friendship between the little son of an Alpine guide and a famous American surgeon. The scene is the mountain region around Mont Blanc. Illustrations in color are supplied by Marie L. Kirk.

"The Land of Delight,"¹² by Josephine Scribner Bates, depicts child life on a pony farm and the half-tone illustrations show how



COVER DESIGN OF THE NEW "HANS BRINKER," DRAWN BY GEORGE WHARTON EDWARDS

¹ A Christmas Carol. By Charles Dickens. Lippincott. 147 pp., ill. \$1.50.

² Hans Brinker, or The Silver Skates. By Mary Mapes Dodge. Scribners. 380 pp., ill. \$2.

³ The Water-Babies. By Charles Kingsley. Houghton, Mifflin. 319 pp., ill. \$2.

⁴ Indian Why Stories. By Frank B. Linderman. Scribners. 236 pp., ill. \$2.

⁵ The Kingdom of the Winding Road. By Cornelia Meigs. Macmillan. 288 pp., ill. \$1.25.

⁶ Shoe and Stocking Stories. By Elmor Mordaunt. Lane. 221 pp., ill. \$1.25.

⁷ Kisington Town. By Abbie Farwell Brown. Houghton, Mifflin. 213 pp., ill. \$1.25.

⁸ Little Pierre and Big Peter. By Ruth Ogden. Stokes. 367 pp., ill. \$1.35.

⁹ The Land of Delight. Josephine Scribner Bates. Houghton, Mifflin. 116 pp., ill. \$1.

in color by Jessie Willcox Smith (Duffield); several issues in the Pogany "Nursery Book Series,"—"Cinderella," "Little Mother Goose," "The Gingerbread Man," and "The Children of Japan,"—for which pictures in color and black-and-white are supplied by Willy Pogany (McBride); "The Scissors Book," by William Lud-

um (Putnams); and "The Dot Circus," by Clifford Leon Sherman (Houghton, Mifflin).

Two dainty booklets are "A Child's Stamp Book of Old Verses," by Jessie Willcox Smith (Duffield), and "When Hannah Was Eight Years Old," by Katherine Peabody Girling (Stokes).

NOTES ON CURRENT FICTION

MISS MARY JOHNSTON, who chose American scenes for all her earlier romances, has given "The Fortunes of Garin," her latest book,¹ a setting in Southern France of the twelfth century. Chivalry and the Crusades add a rich coloring to the background of the picture.

The last two novels by Eden Phillpotts have had to do with important British industries,— "Brunel's Tower" with the making of pottery, and "Old Delabole"² with the Cornish slate quarries. The latter story is a quiet, natural expression of life in a miners' village.

"God's Man,"³ by George Bronson Howard, is a realist's passionate protest against the modern craze for money power.

"The Star Rover"⁴ embodies Jack London's ingenious development of the reincarnation idea, together with a grimly realistic picture of American prison life.

"These Twain"⁵ is Arnold Bennett's story of the married life of Edwin Clayhanger and Hilda Lessways,—a characteristic Bennett novel.

Herbert Quick, in "The Brown Mouse,"⁶ contrives to use a love story as a vehicle for the presentation of problems connected with the American country school.

In "The Bent Twig"⁷ Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher portrays several American types, and in particular unfolds the life story of a typical American girl. The environment of a Middle Western State University forms the background against which the major part of the picture is etched, and all who recall the professorial career of the author's father, the late Dr. James H. Canfield, in the Universities of Kansas, Nebraska,

and Ohio, will have little hesitation in identifying certain passages in "Professor Marshall's" academic experiences. Chiefly, however, it is the influence of her mother's personality on Sylvia Marshall's character in its formative stage that "bends the twig" and furnishes the real motive of the tale. It is a thoroughly good motive and the product is a wholesome, entertaining book.

The delicate situation on our Mexican border furnished the chief episode of "Secret History,"⁸ by C. N. and A. M. Williamson. In this narrative Lady Peggy O'Malley reveals an intrigue engineered by an American army officer for the ruin of a subordinate because of rivalry for the hand of Lady Peggy's sister. In the latter chapters the scene changes to Europe at the outbreak of the great war, in which the hero takes a brilliant part as an aviator. The story is full of adventure.

Adventure, too, dominates Stewart Edward White's "The Gray Dawn,"⁹ a novel that harks back to the stirring times at San Francisco in the years immediately following the California gold rush of 1849. It is the period of the Vigilantes. Mr. White's characters considerably use the common speech of 1915 instead of that which is supposed to have passed current in 1852.

The art of the little book called "Eve Dorré"¹⁰ lies in its ease, simplicity, and seemingly unstudied naturalness.

It takes the form of a statement by an American girl of the experiences of childhood and youth and the crowning experience of happiness and adjustment. The scenes are laid principally in France. There is in the book a quality so elemental that the very lack of construction and of the methods of fiction-writing adds to the prospect that the result may have more than a transient standing. To give so uneventful a bit of autobiography the air of reality and the charm of the idyllic, is to accomplish something of unusual quality and merit.



Photograph by Walter Hale

ARNOLD BENNETT
AT THE FRENCH FRONT

¹ The Fortunes of Garin. By Mary Johnston. Houghton, Mifflin. 376 pp., ill. \$1.40.

² Old Delabole. By Eden Phillpotts. Macmillan. 428 pp. \$1.50.

³ God's Man. By George Bronson Howard. Bobbs, Merrill. 475 pp., ill. \$1.40.

⁴ Star Rover. By Jack London. Macmillan. 329 pp., ill. \$1.50.

⁵ These Twain. By Arnold Bennett. Doran. \$1.50.

⁶ The Brown Mouse. By Herbert Quick. Bobbs, Merrill. \$1.25.

⁷ The Bent Twig. By Dorothy Canfield. Holt. 480 pp. \$1.35.

⁸ Secret History. By C. N. and A. M. Williamson. Doubleday, Page. 319 pp. Ill. \$1.35.

⁹ The Gray Dawn. By Stewart Edward White. Doubleday, Page. Ill. \$1.35.

¹⁰ Eve Dorré. By Emily Vile Strother. Dutton & Co. 256 pp. \$1.35.

FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—DISTRIBUTING INVESTMENTS

THE English have a science of investment which they designate as the "Geographical Distribution of Securities." The popular interpretation of this title is, "Do not carry all your eggs in one basket." Having a greater supply of investable funds than any other nation and a commerce which needs to broaden constantly if it is to hold first rank, England makes a profession of her buying of securities, minimizing the risk to principal and interest and at the same time compelling a certain trade leverage over-seas from her investments.

As a result of this method the English capitalist cuts coupons from the bonds of states and corporations in all parts of the globe and draws dividends from enterprises separated by a month's journey from each other. Until now, when the proportions of the Great War are so immense that every little trading center in the world feels the effect of it, the Englishman could balance temporary losses in one section with profits or appreciation of values in another section. There might be a revolution in Brazil which would bring a repudiation of government loans which he held as a part of his investment portfolio. Coincidentally South Africa, India, Australia, or China might be booming. There are listed on the Royal Exchange of London some thousands of different issues of colonial, provincial, county, state, city, and corporation bonds and stocks, and in running these over one gains a knowledge of geography and of national resources which one could not obtain except at long studies over atlases and year-books. The British investor, who a generation ago placed the bulk of his "funds" in consols, which were selling at a yield of between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., no longer represents the investing type; for consols have had about as sharp a decline since the Boer War as any worthy security. If one had placed all of one's capital in consols fifteen years ago the present depreciation shown would be over 50 per cent. This is the best illustration that could be given of the danger of concentrated investment.

We, of the United States, have so long been a nation of borrowers rather than of in-

vestors abroad that our investment sense has not been intensified like that of the Englishman or the Frenchman. We have bought certain securities and realized large profits and at other times serious losses. The investment has mostly been confined to domestic issues. It is quite as possible to have "Geographical Distribution of Securities" within a country as outside of it and to reduce the chances of loss by separating into many parts or units the sum of the principal to be invested.

Take, first, the matter of geographical distribution. There is always some one part of the United States that is more prosperous than any other part at a similar time. For instance, this year the New England States and the Middle West were overflowing with business and turning it away when trade in the South, Southwest, and Northwest was extremely dull. A year or two hence the same mills and factories that to-day are running at maximum capacity may be operated on part time and the cotton and wheat-growing States be showing a purchasing power never before known. Just now it is of much advantage for an investor to own the bonds or shares of the railroads penetrating these busy industrial sections or to have the securities of public-utility corporations which prosper from that increase of traffic and of power consumption which follows manufacturing development. The credit also of communities whose citizens are piling up wealth is raised and so the bonds of municipalities and counties become more select in such an era. Later the picture may be reversed and one would desire to have his funds where the wealth of the soil controls the local situation, making the farm mortgage of undisputed value and the earnings of carriers great enough to put a liberal margin of safety behind their bonds.

To have one's wealth properly invested in the United States one should spread it out over the six great sections, viz.: the industrial North; the cotton States east of the Mississippi; the Southwest, especially Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas; the corn States of Iowa, Illinois, and Nebraska; the rich spring-wheat belt of Minnesota and the Dakotas,

and the rapidly growing Pacific Coast section.

Having distributed one's investments so that they will balance in a geographical sense, the next step is to diversify or spread out the investment funds so as to include all classes of securities which rank first in their respective fields.

Let us say for illustration that John Smith has made a profit of \$10,000 in his business or profession, or, as is quite common these days, from a speculation in "war" stocks. Not a few men who have amassed sudden fortunes in the stock market this year and who realize how easily quickly-made money slips through one's hands, have placed a large proportion of their winnings in trust, in insurance annuities and other low income-yielding but principal-preserving agencies. These will return an average of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., some being $4\frac{1}{4}$ and others nearly 5 per cent. This is the surest way to protect the integrity of a fortune, whatever its dimensions.

On the other hand, it is better business for the individual who must depend on the income from his investments and who has force of character enough to stand by his securities and not hypothecate them against a further speculative venture which may eventually absorb his principal, to purchase mortgages on improved real estate, on farm land, on high-grade railroad and public utilities, as well as municipal, State, county, highway, street-improvement, drainage, and, under certain circumstances, irrigation bonds. He is also justified in employing a part of his funds in preferred railroad and industrial stocks with a long dividend record and a current large margin of surplus after payments.

Such a diversified investment to-day would make possible an income averaging 5 per cent. as a minimum and nearly $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. with absolute safety.

Our fund of \$10,000 under a scientific selection would show the safeguarding elements of geographical distribution and of diversity of enterprise bought into, if made up from some such list as follows:

	Yield
\$1000 First real-estate mortgage in Connecticut	5.50 per cent.
1000 First mortgage on Minnesota farm land.....	6.00 per cent.
1000 Municipal bond of an Ohio city of 10,000 population.....	4.50 per cent.
1000 First-mortgage bond of a Texas traction line.....	5.50 per cent.
1000 First-mortgage railroad bond of a Colorado line.....	5.25 per cent.
1000 First-mortgage bond of a California power company.....	5.50 per cent.
1000 Illinois district-drainage bond	6.00 per cent.
1000 Georgia district-irrigation bond	6.00 per cent.
1000 Industrial preferred stock of a Pittsburgh corporation.....	6.00 per cent.
1000 Railroad preferred stock of an eastern trunk line.....	5.25 per cent.

The average return on this investment would be a little more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. With the real-estate mortgages there would be no appreciation in the value of the principal and the same is true of the drainage and irrigation bonds. In the other six investments, however, made at the present time, there is a probability that within a year or two the marketable value of bonds and stocks would be considerably more than it is to-day, so that the entire fund, if liquidated, say in 1918, would realize a net return to the investor of well over 6 per cent.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

No. 679. GERMAN WAR BONDS

Will you kindly give me your opinion of the Third German War Loan from both the investment and speculative point of view.

At this distance, and especially in view of the difficulties in the way of obtaining accurate and detailed information about the financial and economic conditions now prevailing in the German Empire, we do not think it possible for anyone to analyze with precision the status of the Imperial German Government bonds that are finding their way into our investment market. We feel that they will be paid eventually, but when one considers the tremendous war debt that Germany is piling up,—as represented by the three large internal loans, it is now in excess of six billions of dollars,—one cannot but wonder through how many refunding operations the various issues of

bonds may have to pass before the Government's obligation is definitely discharged.

If it is right to assume that these bonds will be paid, principal and interest, it follows that the terms on which they are now available in this market involve speculative possibilities. On the present basis of exchange a thousand-mark 5 per cent. bond may be purchased at a net cost of a little less than \$208,—a price representing a yield of approximately $7\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

No. 680. IRON MOUNTAIN RIVER & GULF DIVISION FOURS—THEIR STATUS IN REORGANIZATION

I hold some St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern, River & Gulf division first-mortgage 4's, due 1933. Will they be affected by the Missouri Pacific receiver-ship?

According to the terms of the plan of voluntary

readjustment that was proposed for the Missouri Pacific and constituent companies, but which failed to be accepted by a sufficient number of security holders to make it possible to carry it into effect, the St. Louis, Iron Mountain, River & Gulf division 4's were to have been left undisturbed. It is our opinion, also, that in whatever plan of reorganization is adopted to take the Missouri Pacific out of the hands of the receivers the status of this issue of bonds will still be left unchanged.

No. 681. SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT FUNDAMENTALS FROM A BEGINNER.

I have a little money which has been accumulating in a savings bank and which I wish to invest. My absolute ignorance of affairs financial prevents me from going ahead on my own initiative. I have, therefore, decided to take advantage of your offer, and request you to answer the following questions:

What is the difference between a stock and a bond?

Which bears interest?

Which pays dividends?

Which is the safer?

I see Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific quoted at around 16. I imagine this means the stock which at par is \$100 is at present selling at \$16. If this is correct, suppose I should buy one hundred shares of the stock, paying for it \$1600 cash. If the stock should drop before an advance comes, am I out of pocket or can I simply hold until such time as I wish to sell? I read that the Rock Island is likely to be assessed. Just what does this mean?

We can perhaps best explain the fundamental distinction between a stock and a bond by pointing out that when you buy a bond, you become a creditor of the issuing corporation and that when you buy a share of stock you become merely a partner in the business.

Interest is paid on bonds on all forms of evidences of debt. When there are profits to distribute to the stockholders of a corporation, or the proprietors, the distribution is made in the form of dividends, commonly so called.

With this fundamental distinction in mind, it will doubtless be obvious to you yourself that so far as the nature of the instrument is concerned the bond must be safer than the share of stock. But there are a good many stocks which are safer than a good many bonds. In other words, it is always necessary to discriminate between specific issues of securities when it comes to investing money in them.

You have the right idea of the meaning of the quotation of 16 for Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific stock. It does mean that each share of the par value of \$100 is appraised in the market at only \$16. If you bought such stock as this outright, you would suffer under ordinary circumstances, only what might be called a "paper" loss in the case of a sudden drop in market price. That is, if you were not compelled by circumstances to sell while the stock was low. In the case of the Rock Island shares, there is, however, another way in which you might become subject to loss of capital, at least a temporary one. This road is now in the hands of receivers, and it is expected that when a plan is worked out for its reorganization, the plan will place upon the shoulders of the stockholders at least a large part of the burden of raising the new capital required. That is what is meant by the references you have seen to the likelihood of Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific being assessed.

No. 682. CONVERTIBLE BONDS IN SMALL DENOMINATIONS.

I have some money which I wish to invest in bonds of \$100 or \$500 denomination. I have recently been reading about the possibilities of certain convertibles and I would thank you to give me some information about this group of bonds. What do you think of American Agricultural Chemical, Convertible Debentures, due in 1924?

There are relatively few of the standard issues of convertible bonds available in small denominations. Of such bonds, we are inclined to regard the American Agricultural Chemical 5's about as attractive as any in the industrial list at the present level of prices. The value of the conversion privilege attaching to these bonds is not a matter of important consideration now. But with the company's improved business outlook and with the possibility that this may be more strongly reflected sooner or later, in the market price of the stock, it is of course reasonable to expect on the basis of past experience, that the bonds might show in sympathy some appreciation. We think there can be little question regarding the safety of the bonds as to both principal and interest.

Among the other convertible issues available in \$100 denomination, there are the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul 5's of 1914 and 4½'s of 1932, selling respectively to yield about 4.68 per cent. and 4.50 per cent, New York Central Convertible debenture 6's of 1948 selling to yield about 5.15 per cent, New York, New Haven & Hartford, convertible debenture 6's of 1948 and 3½'s of 1950 selling respectively to yield about 4.95 per cent. and 5.09 per cent., and American Telephone & Telegraph convertible 4½'s of 1933, selling to yield about 4 per cent.

No. 683. UTILITY BONDS AND SHORT-TERM NOTES.

I should like to ask you for some advice in regard to my investments. I now have in addition to a few shares each of Great Northern and Northern Pacific stock, city mortgages representing an investment of about \$6000, one public-utility bond and an investment of about \$4000 in municipal bonds. One of the latter has been called, and I have an additional thousand that will soon become available for investment. I want safety of course. What would you suggest?

We think it might be a very good idea for you to add another public-utility bond to your list. And in view of prevailing conditions in the investment market as a whole we think we should be inclined in circumstances like these to recommend also something in the category of short-term notes.

From the very wide range of offerings of public-utility bonds, it is not an easy matter to make specific recommendations. We take it, however, that you have already established satisfactory banking connections, and if so it would be a simple matter, of course, for you to get quickly recommendations from that source.

The short-term note market is one from which it is somewhat easier to make definite selections. We might call your attention to issues like Brooklyn Rapid Transit 5's, due July 1, 1918, selling to yield about 4.95 per cent., Dominion of Canada's 5's, due August 1, 1917, selling to yield about 4.95 per cent., and Southern Railway 5's, due March 2, 1917, selling to yield about 5.10 per cent.

DE-

nds
een
and
out
can
in

ues
na-
ard
as
the
ver-
t a
with
and
gly
of
on
ght
nink
fety

e in
Mil-
932,
ent.
ible
5.15
ord,
950
ent.
e &
to

M

d to
few
cific
of
nent
atter
that
fety

you
list.
in-
ould
om-
ort-

blic-
ake
ver,
tory
e a
ckly

hich
ons.
ook-
g to
da's
4.95
ch 2,